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BY

S. B de BURGH-EDWARDES,
FRGS, FRCI

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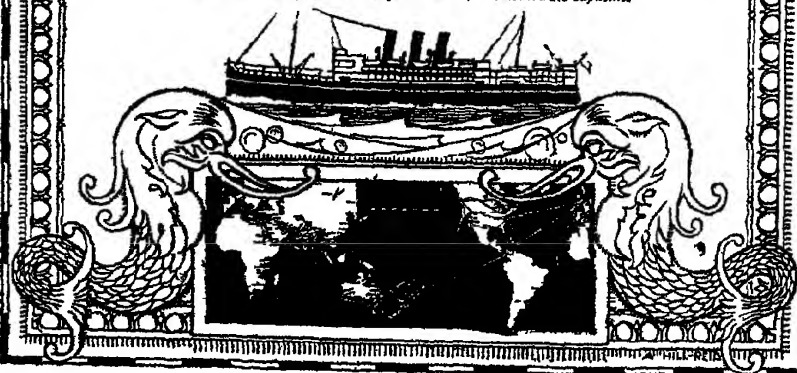
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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1923

INDIA IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY SIR THOMAS BENNETT, M P

THE debate on the India Office vote on June 14 occupied four hours and a quarter, of which time two hours, less five minutes, were occupied by the Under-Secretary of State, while the remainder was taken up by seven private members, one of whom confined himself almost exclusively to a protest against the cramping conditions under which the debate was being conducted. At a quarter past eight India was suddenly withdrawn from the scene, and two railway Bills were thrust upon the attention of the House. I do not know what impression has been made in India by this abrupt transition from the imperial to the parochial, but some Indian gentlemen who left the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery for a talk in the Lobby told me that they did not like it. No wonder! A couple of years ago, when a whole sitting was given to the discussion of the Colonial Office vote, there was a good deal of disappointment at the failure to cover a number of important matters included in the Colonial survey. But that was a small grievance in comparison with the limitation to little more than two hours of the time allotted to unofficial members to range over the infinitely wider—or at least fuller—field of Indian present-day problems. I have no word of complaint against the talented Minister who took up nearly half the allotted time. His speech was so illuminating, and dealt so ably with so wide a variety of subjects, that the House would have been

a loser if he had said a word less than he did. The fault lay with those who had the arrangement of the time-table, and who took so parochial a view of the claims of our Empire as to seem to believe that a couple of hours, more or less, would give "ample room and verge enough" for all the criticism that the House of Commons need pass upon one of the most eventful chapters in the history of India. It was an unfortunate miscalculation—a disconcerting illustration of the old Chancellor's invitation to go forth and see with how little wisdom the world is governed.

For the occasion was one of almost crucial importance. The Viceroy's certification of the Finance Act, doubling the salt duty, had been widely and boldly challenged in India, not only as a measure of oppression, but as an act beyond his powers. It was held up to censure as a return to the autocratic methods which, in quoted utterances of royal personages and men in authority, had been for ever foresworn. And, worst of all, it had been condemned as endangering the reforms, and discrediting them in the eyes of an electorate before whom the members of the Legislative Assemblies and Councils would have shortly to appear and ask for a renewal of the confidence of the electorate in their representatives. The issues, it will be seen, were grave. They demanded the amplest air that Parliament could provide for their discussion. The longest sitting that could have been appropriated for the purpose could scarcely have been deemed excessive, and full discussion was the more necessary inasmuch as the assailants of the Government of India had had more than their fair share of public attention. The campaign in India was conducted with great energy, and there was, of course, much in it that at once appealed to popular sentiment. No one likes to be taxed, and the party that sets out to denounce Government because of a taxing Bill is sure to gain the applause of the multitude. I have always thought that the leaders of the movement were more than a little too impetuous in their spirit and methods. It needed little backing from them.

They might, with no danger of the sins imputed to the Government being forgotten, have remembered that quite as much service can be done to a popular movement by controlling and steadying it as by urging it forward. Those men of moderate tendencies who fought the Government on this question as though the *summum bonum* were to arouse the passion of the multitude against them were no real friends of the people. The tax had been voted, and was already being collected on the new scale, and nothing that could be said could reverse the accomplished act. Certainly it was no help to any good cause to drive into the minds of the people the proposition that in certifying the enhancement of the salt duty the Viceroy had knocked the bottom out of the reforms.

The central point in the controversy is the necessity of balancing the Budget. Was it of such overpowering importance that questions of ways and means could rightly become subordinate to this supreme purpose? A year before, the then Finance Minister, in the presence of a fifth deficit, had declared the balancing of the Budget to be a grave problem—nothing less than the solvency of the country. The Inchcape Committee took a not less serious view of the situation. It was clear, they reported, that the country could not afford the heavy charge involved by further large additions to the unproductive debt, and that if India is to remain solvent immediate steps must be taken to balance her Budget. Apart from a few *poco curante* members of the Assembly who dismissed the deficit of $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores with the airy assurance that it was "only a little one," there was general agreement that the balancing of the Budget was a matter of urgent necessity. An influential representative of the financial and commercial world of Bombay, the Hon M. Lallubhai Samaldas, spoke in this wise: "The Budget ought to be balanced. There is no doubt about it. Those of us who have anything to do with commercial concerns realize that unless the Budget is balanced neither the

country nor the Government can have any credit with the outer world ”

This is really the case of the Government of India, only it happens to have been stated by a very independent critic. They had to decide whether one more should be added to an unbroken series of five deficits, totalling somewhere about 100 crores of rupees. A new Finance member had come on the scene, but the decision to end the era of deficit at once was not his, for, according to reports which are widely credited in India, it had been taken before he arrived in the country, and the doubling of the salt duty was discussed at the same time. We may dismiss as the merest imagination the story that the Government of India were opposed to this policy, but that it was forced upon them by the Secretary of State. The Viceroy's explanatory memorandum is a carefully reasoned vindication of a policy embarked upon under strong conviction of necessity. What would the failure to balance the Budget have meant? In Sir Basil Blackett's words, it would have meant a deterioration in India's credit, an increase in the cost of borrowing, and a depletion of the reserves available for capital development. The way had to be cleared for entering upon a new stage in Indian finance, and it had to be done there and then. “If we do not make a start now we never shall” is a thought that may well have been in the mind of a financier who had just come from England, with a mission scarcely less serious than that which awaited James Wilson when he arrived in India over sixty years ago. The problem was psychological as well as financial. The public had to be impressed with a demonstration that the era of deficits was a closed chapter, and that the Government of India were determined to rehabilitate the credit of the country. There were not wanting commentators on their policy to whom this was clear enough. Above the storm of reprobation with which the Government were assailed the calm voice of reason was occasionally heard. The financial editors of some of the Anglo-Indian newspapers pointed out that

there was more in the controversy than an opportunity to chastise the Government. The investing public, they reminded their readers, would be reassured now that they knew that the Government had set their face against the further piling up of debt. In the financial columns of a leading newspaper at the middle of March we read that the prospect of having a Budget without a deficit was having a wholesome effect upon the financial situation, particularly in Government securities, which had advanced 1 to 2 per cent on the week. In the money article of the same paper, at the end of March, there appeared the following comments on the situation: "The business community thoroughly sympathizes with the Government in its efforts to create a balanced Budget, and the opinion is gathering strength that the opposition to the salt duty is mainly political and sentimental, and that economically the duty is sound."

The country's financial salvation depends on a balanced Budget, and the Government's rate of borrowing next financial year also depends to a great extent on it, as a deficit Budget will again create doubt and distrust in the mind of the investing public."

Against considerations of this nature it avails little to argue that the $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores deficit was a trifle that might be left uncovered, or disposed of by some act of book-keeping camouflage. Here we have a case to which we may well apply Browning's words

"The little more, and, oh, how much it is,
The little less, and what a world away!"

The time had come when there was all the difference in the world between a balanced and an unbalanced Budget—when, indeed, the psychological element in public finance counted for much. The fact of Indian solvency had to be asserted, *urbi et orbi*, if the credit of the country were to be assured. Wisdom has been justified of her children. On May 5 *The Times* money article made this significant comment: "The balancing of India's Budget after a period of deficits has undoubtedly improved the credit of

India as a borrower, and this is reflected in the steady rise in her securities. Countries with budgetary deficits have not been able to take advantage of the great fall in interest rates, as a glance at the list of foreign Government bonds will show." And six weeks later we read in the same columns this further indication. "Since the date (March 1) when the determination of the Government of India to balance the Budget was announced rupee paper has advanced by 14 per cent. In 1921 $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was being paid to investors in this country. The sterling loan issued last month gave a return of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent only, and already stands at a premium of over two points above the price of issue. Meanwhile the floating debt of India is being substantially reduced."

There is no need to say another word in proof, first, of the necessity of balancing the Budget, and, in the second place, of the benefit that has thereby been rendered to the financial position in India. Was the enhancement of the salt duty the only, or at least the best available, means of achieving that most desirable purpose? The salt duty has, of course, this against it—that it stands out against an uninviting historical background. The tradition of the old Salt Line stretching across India as a barrier against free movement, and a protector of high prices, has left its mark upon the popular view of the duty, and it will not soon pass from the people's memory. But is any duty liked? The Government of India may fairly contend that of all forms of taxation that were open to them, this bears least heavily upon the contributor. Twenty years ago, when the duty was reduced from Rs 28 to Rs 14, Sir Edward Law, the Financial member whose pleasant task it was to make the reduction, explained that he did so not because the people felt the tax severely, but because he was, happily, in a position to take off half the duty. A general objection to taxing the poorer classes does not help us. What we want to know is whether the salt duty bears heavily upon those who pay it. The answer is that

it certainly does not. In a recently published handbook on the domestic budgets of the working classes of Bombay, by Mr Shirras, the Director of Labour, it is shown that the mill labourer spends 56 per cent of his earnings on food, and that his expenditure on salt represents only two-fifths of 1 per cent of this. The more general computation is that the average cost of salt is a farthing a month for each person. Certainly the forecast that by doubling the duty on salt the Government had doubled the cost to the consumer has not been realized. The average increase in the price of salt in all India up to the middle of May was 34 per cent, in some provinces, as in the Central Provinces, it was only 20 per cent.

We may confidently say, therefore, that no appreciable burden has been placed upon the poor of India by the enhanced salt duty. There remains the question whether, assuming that the duty, even at the enhanced figure, is a light one, an efficient substitute could have been found for it. We have the assurance of Sir Basil Blackett that every possible new tax had been considered, but one after another had been rejected for the reason either that it would not yield the sum that was necessary for balancing the Budget, or that it would impose a heavier burden upon the poor than the enhanced salt duty. There were conferences innumerable between members of the Assembly who had voted against the Government, with a view to finding an alternative, but no agreement could be arrived at upon any of those that were considered. Public opinion was hopelessly divided on the subject, and expedients which found favour in one Presidency were turned down elsewhere. Sir Basil Blackett had a number of advisers who tried to persuade him that the financial gap could be closed by a variety of book-keeping expedients. Military works, which always had been charged to revenue, were singled out as properly chargeable to capital—an expedient whose unwisdom he exposed by some instructive citations from English financial history during the Victorian period. Similarly, the temptation to transfer to capital account

annuities for railway redemption hitherto chargeable to revenue had to be resisted on the unassailable ground that assistance of this kind, being of the nature of a sinking fund, can properly be paid only out of revenue. From a Madras political association there came the suggestion that the money that was wanted could be raised by increasing the excise duties on Indian cotton goods. All that need be said of this curious proposal is that, while it would undoubtedly have given immense satisfaction in Lancashire, it would have been reprobated in India as a cruel reversal of the policy for which the country has passionately fought in the past.

I have little space left to me for dealing with the constitutional aspect of the controversy. Much use has been made of the argument that, as no emergency had arisen, the conditions contemplated in the Act had not been brought into existence, and therefore the Viceroy had acted beyond his powers. Whether this argument is accepted or rejected will depend on the view that is taken of the financial position at the time. We shall be helped in coming to a conclusion on this point by taking counsel with the Joint Committee. In their elucidation of Clause 25 they say in their report "A power must be reserved to the Governor-General in Council of treating as sanctioned any expenditure which the Assembly may have refused to vote, if he considers the expenditure *necessary for the fulfilment of his responsibilities for the good government of the country*". It should be understood from the beginning that this power of the Governor-General in Council is real, and that it is meant to be used if and when necessary." If there is any validity whatever in the considerations that have been furnished in this article in support of the plea of urgency for the balancing of the Budget of 1923-1924, then the conditions contemplated in the passage I have quoted had most surely arisen. Much has been made of pledges given on eminent authority that the era of autocracy had ended, and that if taxation were imposed it would henceforth be imposed by the vote of the Assembly. But no pledge

should be taken as standing *in vacuo*. It must be read in relation to the conditions to which it is applied. Those who gave these assurances gave them with the knowledge that there were limiting conditions in the Act of 1919, which special conditions might render operative. The pledges must be read with the provisions of 67b.

No fair view of the circumstances will warrant the belief that the reforms have been endangered by the Viceroy's action. One of Lord Reading's critics in the debate asked how the reforms could prosper if every time a liberal measure were brought forward it were to be confronted by the Viceroy's veto. The question was unjust, and had no real relation to what had happened or to what is likely to happen. Everyone knows that the situation was exceptional, and the "every time" was a creation of the honourable member's imagination. As to the danger to the reforms which has been alleged to be a certain result of the action of the Government of India, I believe that the reforms rest on too broad a basis to have been put in jeopardy by a single act of the Executive. They will be subjected to a severe test at the coming elections, but if those who have loyally worked them hitherto, and are determined to work them loyally in the future, will put their whole strength into the contest, the Councils will come through the ordeal with an enlarged capacity for national service. The Moderates in various provinces, notably in Bombay, are organizing themselves for the coming contest, with every prospect of defeating the two factions who are opposed to them—the Congress faction, who are out for boycotting the Councils, and the Swaraj party, under Mr Das, who want to be sent to the Councils in order that they may wreck them from inside. The Councils, taking them all round, have such excellent work of a practical nature to their credit that if they will take the trouble to bring their achievements home to the people there will be no fear of that "wrecking of the reforms" of which we have heard a little too much.

THE KENYA QUESTION

BY JAMNADAS DWARKADAS, M L A ,
Member of the Kenya Deputation in London

FEW questions not directly concerning the people of this country have aroused the interest of the British Press so keenly as the Kenya question. It is, perhaps, due to the presence in England of a number of deputations waiting for the Conference at the Colonial Office at which the question is likely to be settled. In addition to the two deputations of the white and Indian settlers in Kenya, there is a deputation representing the Indian Legislature, headed by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, and the Imperial Citizenship Association has deputed Sir Dinshaw Petit and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, with Mr. C. F. Andrews as adviser. The presence of the Indian deputations is a proof of the importance attached in India to the settlement of this question, which affects not merely the territory of Kenya, but also India's future relations with the Empire.

There are four main points involved in the controversy

- 1 The claim of the white settlers to reserve the Highlands
- 2 The residential and commercial segregation of Indians in towns
- 3 The franchise
- 4 The restriction of immigration

Let us take the first point. While the Indian settlers first went to Kenya more than two hundred years ago, the white settlers were attracted to it largely after the construction of the Uganda Railway. The place that attracted them most is called the Highlands, which are from 5,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea-level, and the climate is just suitable for people who emigrate from England. In response to the clamour of

the white settlers to reserve land for farming purposes in the Highlands exclusively for themselves, in 1908 Lord Elgin, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, announced that, while he could not by statute provide for any racial bar against Indians, for administrative convenience he would restrict the grant of land for farming purposes to white settlers only. Against this policy there was great resentment among the Indians, but when in 1915 Mr Walter Long sanctioned an ordinance which prevented the transfer of land to Indians, even those Indians who had acquiesced in Lord Elgin's declaration expressed their resentment in unmistakable terms. The Indians contended that, assuming Lord Elgin's policy of restricting the original grant of land exclusively to Europeans was justified, the policy sanctioned by Mr Long was in direct violation of the principle laid down by Lord Elgin—namely, that no racial bar could be made against Indians. It must be pointed out that both in Kenya as well as in India the policy of the reservation has been severely criticized. The Indian Legislative Assembly, by a resolution in 1922, protested against a speech made by Mr Winston Churchill at the East African dinner, in which, though not officially, he declared himself to be in favour of reservation. Whatever settlement is arrived at in regard to the other points, it would be disastrous if a decision adverse to Indian claims were given on this point. By acquiescing in Lord Elgin's policy, Indians have given in a good deal, but to expect them to acquiesce for all time to come in a policy that discriminates against them as a race would be tantamount to asking the whole of India to accept a position of subordination and humiliation in the Empire. It would be a much better policy to leave this question undecided for the time being.

The second demand of the white settlers is as unreasonable as the first. Their contention is that Indians should be segregated in towns both for commercial as well as for residential purposes, in order to prevent the risk of the Europeans' health and morals being affected by constant contact with them. Let us examine this contention impartially. It cannot be

denied that in any country, even where people belong to the same race, a healthy and a clean class would be adversely affected by a class of people who, by their education, their breeding, and, above all, their economic condition, are not qualified to live in consonance with the high standard of living accepted by the former class. At the same time, it must be pointed out that it is wrong to make it a racial question. In no country does a bar obtain against people staying in the same locality on the ground of race. The best remedy in the circumstances would be to get the local municipality to frame the building and sanitation laws of a stringent character, so that only those, whether white or coloured, who would conform to those laws would be able to live in the same locality. What is obviously a class division of the kind that obtains naturally and inevitably in every civilized country should not be used for provoking race antagonism by shutting out Indians, *qua* Indians, from the occupation of houses even if they are ready to respond to the most severe laws of building and sanitation. This question of segregation in Kenya ought not to offer any greater difficulty than in any other country, and if, instead of asking for suitable municipal legislation, the white settlers would persist in asking for racial segregation, the only obvious interpretation would be placed on their attitude—namely, a desire to assert their racial superiority.

Let us now come to the third point on which an immediate settlement is absolutely necessary. The population of Kenya consists of about 8,000 white settlers (including officials), about 25,000 Indian settlers, about 10,000 Arab and other settlers, and about 3,000,000 East African natives who are still in the primitive stage of civilization. The affairs of Kenya are administered under the Imperial Government by a Governor, with the help of a Legislative Council consisting of eighteen officials and eleven Europeans who are non-officials and elected by the population of the white settlers enjoying an adult franchise. Indians, on the other hand, enjoy no franchise whatsoever, but are supposed to be represented by four among them who are nominated by Government. The

Governor takes his orders from the Colonial Office, and the Legislative Council acts more or less as an advisory body, influencing by all means, but not directing, the actions of the Government. Indians naturally resent this very strongly, not only are they more numerous, but they pay a much larger portion of the total revenue than the Europeans. They went to Kenya long before the white settlers contemplated immigration, and it is admitted that one of the objects of the British Administration in Kenya was to safeguard the interests "of our Indian fellow-subjects." In conceding the right of election to the white settlers, and withholding it unjustly from the Indian settlers, the Colonial Office adopted a policy which nourished the yearning in the hearts of the white settlers for racial domination, which they had now and again made manifest in their unjust demands regarding the Highlands and segregation, and in individual instances of the treatment they accorded to their Indian fellow-subjects. If the Colonial Office finds itself in difficulty now over the Kenya question, it is largely due to its acts of omission and commission in the past, and by differentiating in the matter of franchise between the white and the coloured population they struck a blow to the fundamental idea of equality within the Empire. Undoubtedly, the awakening of political consciousness in India was not without its effect in Kenya, and the Kenya Indians, naturally indignant at this treatment, started an agitation demanding equal rights. Many an attempt has been made to settle this question. The last was made in January, 1923, by the settlement arrived at between Major Wood of the Colonial Office and Earl Winterton, the Under-Secretary of State for India. This settlement is commonly known as the "Wood-Winterton Agreement." It provides that the qualification for the vote in Kenya should be so raised as to enfranchise not more than one-tenth of the Indian population, and that Indians should have four out of eleven elected representatives in the Legislative Council. The new qualification was not to apply to those Europeans who already enjoyed the franchise. Further, that a *common* register of all the voters was to be prepared, and

representatives, European and Indian, who sat in the Legislative Council were not exclusively spokesmen for their own communities, but represented jointly both the communities as a whole. In the first place, a settlement of this character would fail to satisfy even a moderate Indian, but as the Government of India and the India Office accepted this settlement, and as the Indians looked upon it as a reasonably good working basis, both Indians in Kenya and in India were prepared to lend their support to this agreement. The attitude of the white settlers, however, has prevented the Colonial Office from enforcing the terms of this agreement. The Colonial Office, however, will soon have to face this question, and it should be clearly understood that even the most moderate among Indians will refuse to acquiesce in the further whittling down of these terms. The objection of the white settlers, it appears, is mainly to the provision of the common register. It would mean the compulsory reliance of the candidates of each community on the voters, not only belonging to their own community, but to the other community as well. While the existence of a system of this character would offer the same advantage and disadvantage (if any) equally to both the communities, the objection of the white settlers can only be traced to their supposed humiliation in being forced to approach constituents belonging to an inferior race for the purpose of gaining their votes. As in the first two points, again in this point also, we are faced with the same problem of the inherent prejudice of the white settler against the Indian on the ground of race. We Indians can never accept a compromise on this point, for acquiescence in a communal register would mean, both inside and outside the Council, the perpetuation of that racial prejudice and racial antagonism which are at the bottom of the whole problem, not only in Kenya, but in various parts of the world. The insistence of Indians on a common register should not be misunderstood. It arises out of an honest conviction that the welfare of the Empire can be best secured by establishing goodwill, close co-operation, mutual trust and love, among the races that form

the Empire To yield to the desire for an assertion of racial superiority is to create a further obstacle in the building up and in the eventual capacity for service of the Empire

The last and, perhaps, the most important question is that of immigration The white settlers demand that Indian immigration should be restricted "in the interest of the natives" They also urge that there is a fear that if Indians were allowed the right of free immigration the white settlers would be swamped, and it would eventually mean Indian domination in Kenya There is no ground for such fear The figures for the last five years prove conclusively that immigration has not been in such numbers as to justify this alarm The Indian temperament is opposed to immigration, and the desire for domination has never existed in India As to the danger to native interests and civilization, it is futile to argue that Indians, who have known what it has been to be an oppressed nation, would in any way be a greater danger than the white settlers belonging to a dominating race There is evidence that the natives have learned more from their contact with Indian immigrants, and that they have suffered more ill-treatment at the hands of some white settlers Indians are not an uncivilized race, and the civilization of India is more akin to the native of Africa than that of the West But, above all, in a Crown Colony, governed in accordance with the orders of the Colonial Office, what right has one immigrant community to dictate the policy to another immigrant community? It must be remembered that Indian and European are both fellow-citizens of the same Empire, and, more than that, are largely interested in the advancement of the natives. The right to allow one community to dictate to the other would not only be detrimental to the interests of the latter, but would largely endanger the interests of the native population, whose protection arises from the mutual check exercised by one immigrant community over the other The continuous demand for a policy of restriction to Indian immigration raises a shrewd suspicion of a desire for complete domination on the part of the white settler, coupled with an unrestricted right of

the free exploitation of natives It is clear, therefore, that if immigration is to be free it should be so for both the communities That is not only a fair arrangement between two partners of an Empire, but is also in the real interests of the native population If, however, in future the interests of the natives really demand a restricted policy, it should be so devised as to operate not exclusively against one community, but, both in theory and practice, equally against both communities No other position than this is acceptable to Indians on the question of immigration

Having dealt with these four points, it is but right that one good result of the acute controversy should be noted Only a few months ago the question was confined to a dispute between the claims of Indians against those of the white settlers With the development of the controversy, however, there has emerged a consideration of a very humane character, the consideration of the interests of the native population, which was curiously an obscure factor for a long time, exploited only now and again for the purposes of argument in favour of a one-sided contention The emergence of this factor is not only wholesome, but does credit to all concerned So far as Indians are concerned, if, in the interests of the natives, reversion to an honest Crown Colony Government is the only solution, they would gladly accept it After all, the aim of the British policy should be to administer the affairs until such time as the natives are prepared to take the administration in their own hands under the ægis of the British Empire That time is, no doubt, distant—very distant, indeed But until such time comes no one community should be allowed to control the destiny of Kenya The Imperial Government alone can act as a trustee of native interests, and if rights of an advisory character have to be conceded to immigrant communities, all such communities should be treated equally

It has been our boast that the British Empire rests on the principles of brotherhood, love, and equality However much ignorance may claim the superiority of one race of God's children over another, it has been proved beyond all doubt that

the races that allowed their blood to be mingled in dying for liberty during the war cannot but be treated as equals. The Kenya question is regarded as a test of the Empire. British statesmanship is faced with two alternatives: to yield to the threat held out by the white settlers of a resort to violence and compromise the legitimate case of their Indian fellow-subjects. The consequences would be disastrous, in as much as India would lose faith in the Empire, and in the twentieth century no one nation can hold another nation merely by force of arms. The nations can be held together by the bond of goodwill, co-operation, and mutual love. The second alternative for Great Britain is to give a right decision, which would strengthen the bonds between the component parts of the Empire, and render it worthy of the service to humanity which is in store for it in years to come.

CHINA WAITING FOR DEVELOPMENT

BY CHAO-HSIN CHU,

Chinese Chargé d'Affaires, London

EVERYONE agrees that China needs development, even those who are perhaps at the present moment the most severe critics of the existing measure of internal troubles. Trade in China is, however, the life of the nation, and politics are not. Therein it differs from other countries which I could mention by name, but abstain from doing so. Accordingly, the theme I have selected is as appropriate now as it ever was, and, as a matter of fact, a good deal more so, in view of the inevitable influences of Western civilization.

Little is popularly known about China, such as is known is a little indefinite. The country is 4,300,000 square miles in size, or larger than the United States and Argentina put together. In comparison, France is only 213,000 square miles and Germany 208,780 square miles. The size of Szechuen Province is as large as one of these two Powers. China's population is about 420,000,000, or about the same amount as that of the entire British Empire, including India. Its commercial activity is probably unparalleled in the world's history, the thrift of its people, in a country where there are relatively few rich men, is world-renowned. It is a purely agricultural country, though there are beginnings of what, in the Western phrase, is known as industrialism, more especially in cotton goods manufacture and coal-mining. Its supply of agricultural products is unlimited, because of the general richness of the soil and the abundance of water, and because of the varying temperatures from North to South and East to West. Its mineral products are also very rich, and one day industrial development, now in its infancy, will be unrivalled. In other words, China produces everything she wants and can consume everything she produces, with a surplus for outside exportation. Thus she is a self-supporting country.

All countries are in a state of evolution. What, therefore, will be the future of China in respect to industrialism? At present all manufactured goods are imported mainly from abroad, especially machinery, woollen and cotton goods, leather goods, and the like. Yet there are, as I have said above, evidences of growing industrialization. Such factories as exist are established in the large cities, with the inevitable result that the local congestion of population becomes more and more pronounced. In short, the country is beginning to tread the industrial path taken by most Western countries in the nineteenth century. Its progress is bringing with it all the same problems which then faced Europe, and perhaps in an aggravated form, and we have yet to see if we shall solve them on the same lines. The most acute is the labour problem, which needs to be solved and should be solved, the sooner the better, in order to avoid hardship and disturbances which always follow in the train of unregulated industrialism, such as is entailed by long hours, low wages, overcrowding, and child and female labour. We have the opportunity of profiting by the experiences of others, and while personally I am not in favour of much encouragement of industrial life other than due to slow and normal evolution, I realize that if it has to come we had better be prepared, to avoid mistakes which may be irreparable. In any case we cannot introduce Western capitalistic methods as applied to industry into China: there must be modification. This can be effected in the early stages of the process far better than later on. In other words—at least, according to my opinion—more freedom must be given in China to individual development, and I would prefer to see greater scope for purely private enterprise. Harmony of interworking between Capital and Labour is especially vital to China. This would do away with any incentive to Bolshevism, which would find no way of invading the country if the people were satisfied with their mode of life and their normal domestic arrangements as permitted by their economic position.

In other words, China is coming forward, and ought to come forward, as an industrial country only in the later stages of her

her needs of the day and with her prospects of the future China stands for the Open Door of opportunity for all, for equal measure of commercial participation to those who wish to participate, for the absence of special spheres of influence—always a subject of foreign conflict and home peril—for the refusal to acquiesce in any trade monopoly, for no foreign intervention in her internal affairs, and for rigid honesty in the fulfilment of all her foreign obligations and the payment of all her foreign debts. This applies to all unsecured as well as to secured debts, which in dollars may appear high, but which in value, especially in reference to the taxable and taxed capacity of the people, are trifling in their burden. No Western nation but would in point of taxation change places with China. No Western country can show so small a debt reckoned *per capita* over the entire population. It is but a few shillings at the most.

China, too, is wealthy, because she is so little developed and possesses such great potentialities for development. Her railways barely scratch the surface of developable country—profitably developable. To this end some of the new lines should be built, such as the Szechuen-Hankow line, while some of the uncompleted lines should be finished, and these include the Canton-Hankow and the Lung-Tsin-U-Hai lines. The first-named would connect the Peking-Hankow line stretching to the North and the Canton-Hankow line stretching to the South. Over this line agricultural and mineral products would be carried from the remotest parts of the interior to the Treaty ports. Take the case of the Province of Szechuen. Eggs are so cheap that a price according to Western ideas is barely quotable. The supply of rice and wheat is illimitable and unlimited. The cost of living in this province can be reckoned at less than twopence a day, while in the Treaty and trade ports it is very much higher. If the surplus of food and kindred products could, by the improvement of transportation, be better and more widely distributed, the cost of living could be reduced throughout most of the country generally.

Of the Canton-Hankow line there is only about 200 miles uncompleted—between Chuchow and Suikwan. This line is known as the Hukuang Railway. For the complete termination of the work of construction, together with the provision of adequate rolling stock for the whole line between Canton and Hankow, the cost is assessed by experts at not more than about five million sterling, and the work, since the line has been surveyed, would not need more than three years to reach a satisfactory conclusion. There is a little history affecting the Hukuang Railway Bonds, which are largely held in London. The price was once as low as 45, and recently went up to 55, though it used to be 65 or thereabouts last November. The fall is due to the fact that the investing public were alarmed owing to a rumour that payment of the interest for December 15 last would be postponed as a result of internal troubles in China, but the Peking Government, as usual, furnished the necessary funds, and the full liability was duly met. Of course, the line is not paying, owing to its incomplete condition, but according to the terms of the loan agreement, the guarantee for payment both of interest and principal is provided, not merely by the line itself, but also by the salt and rice revenues of the Hupeh and Hunan provinces, and, in the ultimate result, by the Chinese Government itself. Accordingly, the payment of interest for last December and for June 15 last were both made from the salt surplus under the Central Government. Yet such was the unsettling effect on the market quotations of the loan of the rumours to which I have alluded, and such was the ignorance of the investing public, that the price to-day has not yet recovered. This, though, is merely a matter of time, since the loan is as secure as any other railway loan, like the Tientsin-Pukow Railway Loan, or the Honan Railway Loan, or the Shanghai-Nanking Bonds, whose prices remain high. Remember, in short, that when once the 200 miles of the Hukuang section to which I have referred are completed, the railway will be worked at a handsome profit, both by reason of its important situation and the dense population along the whole stretch of country.

Let me turn for a moment to the Lung-Tsin-U-Hai Railway Bonds. A large part of this line has been completed, at all events in the centre across the Honan and Kiangsu provinces, leaving only the extreme west end and the extreme east end still to be finished. If the whole line is finished, the products of Kansu and Shensi provinces will be carried out to the port of Hai-chow on the open China Sea. In short, this line is just as important and potentially prosperous as the Canton-Hankow and Szechuen-Hankow lines.

There is a great future in China for all railway construction. Labour is cheap, some sorts of material specially adapted to constructional work are plentiful. In many respects there is no shortage of what I may call building material, while engineering assistance and rolling stock can be obtained from Western countries. All that is needed to help China to build more railways or to complete those in a state of partial construction is foreign capital. China has capital, but her capital has for the most part been invested in the existing industries. According to the well-known economic principle, new industries require new capital. China herself has not much free money at home, so foreign capital is required and is welcome. The war interfered with the building of the above-mentioned lines. Foreign financiers could not fulfil their promises to furnish money during the progress of hostilities, and now, after the war, no offer has been made to China for even completing the important lines to which attention has been called. These lines therefore remain unfinished, and are not in consequence remunerative, with the result that the Chinese Government has to bear the expense both of maintaining the lines and of paying the interest and the principal of the loans. Foreign creditors are to some extent suffering from the widespread but unfounded rumours of inability to pay, but they can rest assured that their claims will be met, though the delay in the constructional work is far more disastrous to the Chinese Government than to the bondholders. Yet so convinced is China of the value of railways that the Government will gladly construct more lines if it can afford to do so. It holds this

view because it knows well that prosperity and economic development follow the extension of every railway-line. This has been established in Northern China—never so rich a country as the South—but where a glance at the map will show how the land has been opened out and up by railway construction. Far more lines exist there than in the South, with the result that transportation is convenient, easy, and benefiting the people, who find the advantage of improved communications a source of certain revenue and increased personal comfort.

Moreover, railways will not only help to develop commerce, but will tend to establish and promote political tranquillity. Unification will be easier, nearer, and more effective when the Hukuang Railway is completed. Thereby the extreme North and the extreme South will be brought within a few days of each other, with the result that political disturbances will be lessened at once and in time removed by the centralization of government, the co-ordination of provincial activities, and the better mutual understanding of the different peoples. Traffic and communication are the great promoters of peace and tranquillity. Hence, like most Chinese who understand the problem, I should welcome the resumption of constructional work on these lines if foreign capital should become available. We need it urgently for this purpose, and I feel certain the Chinese Government will not hesitate to open negotiations when a good and reasonable offer is forthcoming.

To lend money to China for any unproductive use is not advisable, but for such productive purposes as railway construction it is both fitting and proper and remunerative. It is true that some persons hold the view that no loan should be made to China, and that China should be compelled to do as best she can, without a penny of foreign assistance. The view has no real foundation either in fitness or intelligence if applied to all aspects of Chinese life, since foreign capital for railway and kindred productive work stands on quite a special plane. Without such capital how can China develop? How start on the work of modernization? As it is she cannot afford

to finish even the uncompleted railway-lines, she cannot afford to buy railway materials from Western countries or to pay Western engineers for their help and direction in constructional undertakings, she cannot afford money to pay for either locomotives or rolling stock from foreign manufacturers without a further supply of foreign capital. Hence, unless such assistance is forthcoming, I see no chance of the incomplete railway-lines being finished for many years to come. All new development will be impossible.

Let me, in short, point out that foreign financiers need not be afraid either as to the liabilities or the ability to meet obligations to pay of the Chinese Government. If they lend money to China for railway construction, there is no doubt of the ability of the lines to pay when once they have been built. As before the war, the Chinese Government will be ready and willing to afford all direct State guarantees for any railway loan which may be accepted. It will do so because it knows that the dense population and the vast natural resources of the country will afford an absolute certainty for the success of any approved railway scheme. In this policy China follows on American lines. The United States constructed many lines extending to uninhabited territories. They did not pay at first, but they paid richly afterwards. Australia is adopting the same policy. It ran the initial risk, but the results are justifying the policy, and will increasingly do so. Railways in China are profitable enterprises from the very start, since the population is on the spot and ready to welcome the innovation. In the case of the countries mentioned there was delay and possibly a little uncertainty in awaiting the full fruition of enterprise. There is none in China. The country as a whole will from every standpoint be benefited by the improvement of the means of transportation, while the world will be equally benefited by opening up a vast potential market for its manufactures and by ensuring an easy outflow of the illimitable natural products upon which its ever-increasing industrialism depends.

In short, the present political unrest in no way stands in the

way of economic development. In fact, it can be said that the sooner we reach a crisis in the political situation, the sooner will come the turning-point in our post-war recovery. People will interest themselves, and are interesting themselves, more keenly in national affairs, and will thereby contribute to the bringing about more speedily of a solution of the critical problem now confronting them. It is, perhaps, characteristic of the Chinese people that they have hitherto not taken such an interest, but the change now setting in is all to the good. In any case, China, in spite of politics, is economically improving, and therein we Chinese find ground for optimism and encouragement. To borrow a familiar Western metaphor, we may be groping in the dark, and awaiting the dawn, but we are all confident that this is at hand.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF BURMA WOODS

BY ALEXANDER L. HOWARD

IN the course of the last few years, since the Government of Burma inaugurated the new policy of exporting their valuable timbers to the United Kingdom and the Continent, there has been considerable progress made in this development of the resources of the Empire, although there is still room for a vast expansion

At the annual Burma dinner held in London at the beginning of June, the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Reginald Craddock, K C S I, made a pointed reference to the richness of the country of Burma in regard to its timber, and in the course of his remarks he urged all who had any desire to get rich quickly to invest all the money they had in that "land of promise"

It is a striking fact that while in 1920 Great Britain imported timber to the value of £82,000,000, yet the meagre proportion sent by India *and* Burma only amounted in value to £700,000, and this was, as the trade returns put it, "mostly teak" Yet the vast forest area of the State in Burma contains timbers the value of which is unsurpassed in any other forest area in the world In a lecture delivered on June 1 by Mr Austin Kendall at the Royal Society of Arts, the lecturer said that since "1907 the local production of resin (in India) has advanced from 5,000 cwt to 82,000 cwt Similarly, Indian production of turpentine rose from 16,000 gallons to 279,000 gallons" It is indeed much to be regretted that as yet the same vigorous rate of advance cannot be quoted in regard to timber

Much, however, has been accomplished In January, 1921, when the regular liner ships refused to carry timber except at prohibitive rates, the s s *Rhodesia* was chartered at a record low rate of freight—namely, 70s per 50 cubic feet measured in the round This ship was followed later by the

s.s. *Clan Colquhoun*, which in consideration of a higher rate of 80s collected freight both in Rangoon and Port Blaer, and delivered both to Rotterdam and to London. This was the first instance of a direct shipment loaded in the Andaman Islands. Other boats chartered since that date were the *Dalworth* (rate of freight 65s), the *Baron Lovat* (rate of freight 60s), and the *Australic* (rate of freight 50s). It will be noticed that the rate of freight has steadily fallen.

During this period the demand for India and Burma timbers has steadily increased. It would be no exaggeration to say that the value of work carried out in these woods amounts to well over one million pounds, and they are to be seen used for decorative and constructional purposes in buildings both public and private all over London and throughout the provinces. Especially noticeable in this connection is the wonderful expansion in the consumption of teak. At the outset of the experiment of sending teak home in the round as it comes from the forests, it was constantly asserted that teak could not be sold in this form. Not only has this statement been falsified by the course of events, but larger quantities of this round teak have been sold than even the most sanguine had anticipated, and the purchases have proved wholly satisfactory to the buyers. There have been many instances where teak has been used where previously it would have been barred on account of its price. Railway companies which had been forced to abandon the use of teak for railway-carriage construction have been able to utilize it once more now that it is obtainable at a moderate cost.

The standard prices at which all the fine Burma hardwoods have been available during the nearly seventy years in which the Forest Service has been established in Burma has been on a ridiculously inadequate basis. Yet in the last few years these prices have so appreciated that for many timbers they have become almost on a level with that of teak itself. Notwithstanding this satisfactory advance, however, many of these woods are still obtainable at a price which compares well with that of all other hardwoods used for similar purposes.

The following comparative prices, for instance, may be quoted

	Per Foot Super					Per Foot Super			
	s	d		s	d		d	s	d
Mahogany									
Honduras	1	9	to	2	6	Burma Padauk	10	to	2 0
Cuba	3	6	„	5	0	Gurjun	5	„	0 9
Oak	1	6	„	2	6				

Out of these supplies of fine Burma woods some fifty logs have been selected which in their high quality and beautiful appearance have in every respect equalled any other of the most decorative timbers of the world, such as, for instance, mahogany or satinwood. For many years past there has been a regular and continuous export of satinwood from Ceylon to all parts of the world. It is known throughout India and China, Europe absorbs large quantities, it is exported to Australia and Africa, while in America it realizes the very highest prices for the finest decorative work, for its great beauty of colour and figure is universally known and appreciated. Yet one individual log of Burma padauk (*Pterocarpus macrocarpus*) received in London within the last two years certainly equalled, if it did not surpass, in colour, figure, and texture, the finest satinwood ever yielded by the forests of Ceylon. These two woods are indeed very similar, though the padauk is a rich red colour, which soon tones down with exposure to a beautiful golden-rose shade. This particular tree realized for the Government of Burma the sum of Rs 1,600 per ton as it lay in the forest.

In this question of introducing new woods on to the market the example of the United States may well be followed. It is no exaggeration to say that the timbers of America are known and used all over the world, such is the effect of vigorous American propaganda. In travelling out to the East, I found carpenters in Port Said working an American hardwood which had been brought from 2,000 miles inland to the American seaboard. In the railway between Calcutta and Darjeeling I found railway-carriages panelled with American satin walnut (*Liquidambar styraciflua*). In that very part of Bengal through which the train was running grow

large quantities of hollock (*Terminaha myriocarpa*), a highly decorative timber perfectly suitable for railway-carriage panelling, but which is at present utilized chiefly for the making of boxes

It is no exaggeration to say that only a small fraction of the great forest wealth of Burma has been available up to date, for there are extensive areas almost untouched, and these represent a large capital locked up, and not only lying idle, but even deteriorating. Indeed, it is only in the exploitation of teak that the development of the forest resources has received the attention it merits. It is interesting to note that in other parts of the East, where teak is more costly and less easy to obtain, other timbers are used with success, in spite of the oft-repeated asseveration that any other wood but teak is useless to withstand the attack of the white ant. In Ceylon, for instance, the woods most used in the order of their importance are Jak (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), sapu (*Micheha Champaca*), nedun (*Pencopsis Moomana*), and, lastly, teak, which is less used than any other.

Much larger quantities of these Burma timbers could have been absorbed had there been better facilities for transport within the country, for the conversion of the extracted timber and for its export to the United Kingdom and Europe. In these respects it must be said that Burma is far behind the times. The revenue obtainable from the forests by the Government of Burma is closely interrelated with these matters, and the whole question is likely soon to become one of urgent and critical consideration. In the majority of other countries the realization of their timbers has been a matter of vital importance, and, indeed, of primary necessity to the very existence of the State. But in Burma it is very different, and until now the necessity has never arisen. In her comparatively primitive methods of exploiting her forests she lags far behind other countries, and in all directions new methods are necessary to facilitate and cheapen extraction.

The lack of communications, which has rested like a blight on all prospects of developing the country for many years past,

has nowhere been more felt than in the forests. The railway service may be said to be hardly developed at all, and while the Irrawaddy and other rivers are available, yet these two means of communication are very inadequate. Roads must be made, railways laid down, and even ships purchased, if a successful trade in these valuable timbers is to be generated. The port of Rangoon, which even now ranks thirty-second in volume of trade amongst the ports of the entire world, is capable of much greater expansion, and this would be facilitated were it free and open to all. Development on such lines as these will result in an organization which will ensure regular and consistent supplies, for it is of little avail to seek for and develop new markets for timber if supplies are not forthcoming which are adequate both in quality and in quantity. One of the noticeable features which hampers the extension of trade in Burma is the lack of healthy competition, and were this not so, progress would proceed more rapidly, for, as Alfred Marshall says in "Industry and Trade," "in a truly open market competition is often constructive and not ungenerous."

When I had the honour of addressing the Legislative Assembly in Delhi last year, I called attention to an important aspect of this subject, and that is the question of development by Government and development by private firms. Personally I am convinced that it is only by actual Government initiation and exploitation that these timbers can be brought into common use. For many years Government have endeavoured to encourage private trading firms to exploit these lesser-known native timbers, but they have so far met with little success, and I do not think they will meet with much more in the future. The whole problem suggests itself as too complicated and hazardous an enterprise for any private or public corporate trading concern to undertake, until it has been established by Government on a firm and substantial basis. It may be argued that both Government assistance and co-operation have been largely dispensed with in other countries, and that this might well be so in Burma. The answer to this is that in most countries where private enterprise

in forest industry has been pre-eminently successful there has been unlimited freedom and independence of action throughout the industry. In Burma, however, the forests are the property of Government, and Government is pledged to manage them with the object, not only of maintaining them in their present condition, but of improving them to the greatest possible extent in the interests of future generations. Unlimited freedom of action for private enterprise is therefore impossible in Burma.

If the considerations which I have briefly outlined be borne in mind, they may perhaps help towards securing a prosperous future for the timber trade in Burma, and so assist that great province to take the place among the countries of the Empire to which by her wealth and her position she is entitled.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN INDIA

BY SIR M DE P WEBB, KT, CIE, CBE, M.L.A. (INDIA)

WITH the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 (9 and 10 of George V) the British Parliament gave legislative effect to their declared policy of providing "for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire."

At that time there were very many (I confess that I myself was amongst the number), who felt some anxiety lest Great Britain, in her desire to give to India all the advantages of self-government that she herself enjoyed, was moving too fast for the East, which, from lack of direct contact with the outside world, and in consequence insufficient knowledge of world affairs, is very conservative in thought, outlook, and action. Then, too, it was impossible to shut one's eyes to the many cleavages between race and race, religion and religion, caste and caste—cleavages so broad and so deep that it seemed doubtful whether the spirit of tolerance and the practice of compromise, so important in the everyday work of government, could be expected to bridge them at that stage of India's development. Further, and perhaps most important of all, it seemed doubtful whether India could produce in sufficient numbers Indian political leaders possessed of the necessary knowledge and broadness of mind, *and at the same time commanding the confidence and active support of all castes and creeds*, to carry on this new idea of democratic self-government. For without the willing acquiescence of the great mass of the people no Government in the world can expect to function for very long. Whatever doubts the more conservative types of British minds in England and India may have felt about these matters, the Coalition Government then in power in

the United Kingdom decided to make a move forward, and the Government of India Act was accordingly passed by Parliament and entered in the Statute Book. Most criticisms were silenced, and both Europeans and Indians proceeded to make the best of the new, reformed Constitution for India. That the new Parliaments for India might start well, His Majesty the King-Emperor sent H R H the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate the new Central Legislature. The formal ceremony took place in the Assembly Chamber, Delhi, on February 9, 1921. As the impressions then made were of great moment, it will be necessary to recall some of the actual words used and the promises then made.

In the course of his opening speech His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, recalled certain constitutional stages through which India had passed—periods ending in 1861, in 1892, and in 1919. The transition from the almost irresponsible autocracy of the first half of the last century to the responsible dyarchy of to-day, though perhaps slow in the eyes of impatient idealists, had been by way of a steady and continuously increasing association of the governed with the Government. Lord Chelmsford particularly pointed out the great significance of the Act of 1919, which, he stated, “involved a great and memorable departure from the old system of Government. *It closed one era and opened another*”

A few minutes later His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught read a message from His Majesty the King-Emperor, in the course of which His Majesty said

“For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.”

His Royal Highness then addressed the Assembly. In the course of his remarks he said.

"The principle of autocracy has all been abandoned Its retention would have been incompatible with that contentment which had been declared by her late Majesty, Queen Victoria, to be the aim of British rule, and would have been inconsistent with the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Indian people, and the stage of political development which they have attained"

Following on these assurances of increased powers and responsibilities, the Finance Member (Sir Malcolm Hailey), when introducing to the new Legislature its first Budget, on March 1, 1921, confirmed the impression given three weeks previously, that autocracy had passed away Thus, after explaining to the Assembly the new financial responsibilities on its shoulders, he went on

"This House may—no doubt will—criticize the wisdom of measures that have been undertaken by us in the past, when the sole responsibility was ours But for the future they will have to share that responsibility If we incur expenditure, it will be under their mandate If we impose taxation, it will be by their vote"

Here was a distinct and specific promise If new expenditure or new taxation had to be imposed, *it would be only with the assent of the Indian Legislative Assembly*

At this point it is necessary to recall certain sections of the Government of India Act In order to provide against ignorance, obstinacy, or obstructive or wrecking tactics on the part of the Legislature, provision has been made in Sections 67a and 67b to enable the Government to overrule the Legislature and carry on, notwithstanding an adverse vote or series of votes Thus, if the Legislative Assembly refused, for example, to sanction expenditure which Government consider necessary, then the Governor-General in Council can, if he declares the expenditure to be in his opinion essential, incur that expenditure notwithstanding the Assembly's adverse vote (Section 67a) So, too, if the Assembly refuses to vote taxation in the form or to the extent recommended by the Governor-General, then

the Governor-General can certify that the Bill imposing the Government's proposed taxation is "essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India," in which case the Bill, after certain formalities have been completed, becomes an Act. In this case the Act must be laid before the House of Commons for not less than eight days before it is presented for the assent of the King-Emperor. Upon His Majesty signifying his assent, and the Governor-General of India notifying the same, the Act has the full force and effect of law. But the Governor-General can, if in his opinion "a state of emergency exists which justifies such action," direct that an Act which he has "certified" shall come into operation immediately. In this case the Act becomes law at once, but is subject to disallowance by His Majesty the King-Emperor in Council.

The provision of these emergency safety-devices is quite sound, and nobody objects to them. But they are very obviously emergency devices, to be employed in cases of grave complication, and then only if the "safety, tranquillity, or interests" (Section 67b) of the country absolutely demand them. To overrule the Legislature in matters of ordinary business routine merely when there happened to be some difference of opinion between Government and the Legislature would be to ignore H R H the Duke of Connaught's assurance that "the principle of autocracy has all been abandoned." Far better the Indian Legislature should make one or two mistakes than lose confidence in the Royal promise.

Let us now examine briefly some of the activities of the newly created Legislative Assembly, which commenced its regular work at Delhi on February 15, 1921. That individual members have on occasions revealed ignorance of their subject, and of the political experiences of other countries, there is no doubt. That the Assembly as a whole has once or twice taken the wrong course, very few competent observers would be likely to question. But such things happen in other Parliaments than those of

India. Could the House of Commons claim to be an exception to the rule that those who ordinarily do very well, occasionally make mistakes? I think not. In any case, even if an occasional blunder be admitted, it will be conceded by all that the Indian Legislative Assembly has carried through a great mass of most useful public work. Many thousands of questions have been asked and answered. Large numbers of searching resolutions have been moved, debated, and for the most part carried, including those of such wide importance as the following: Government Health Services, Removal of Racial Distinctions in Trials, Sukkur Barrage Irrigation Project, Appointing a Retrenchment Committee, Medical Education, Prohibition of Traffic in Girls, Railway Finance, Research Work, Military Policy, Organization and Training, Protection of Women Wage Earners and of Unskilled Emigrants, etc.

In addition to the above a large number of legislative enactments of far-reaching importance have been hammered into shape and put on the Statute Book, some of the most important dealing with Electricity, Emigration, Indian Ports, Negotiable Instruments, the Press, Workmen's Compensation, Cotton Transport, Mines, Boilers, Factories, Naval Armaments, Paper Currency, the Penal Code, the Civil Procedure Code, Income Tax, Stamps, Savings Banks, Money Lenders, Married Women's Property, Land Acquisition, etc.

Perhaps the most important work of the Assembly has been its courageous handling of the Budgets, and its provision of huge sums of money to meet the deficits caused very largely by debiting the whole of the cost of the last Afghan War and subsequent Frontier Expeditions *to current revenues and nothing to loans*. It dealt with its first Budget in March, 1921. The year then closing revealed an estimated deficit of $11\frac{3}{4}$ crores of rupees (nearly £8,000,000), whilst the Budget for the new year, 1921-22, showed an anticipated deficit of $18\frac{1}{2}$ crores.

(£12,220,000) The Assembly voted, in order to cover this anticipated deficit, all-round increases of taxation—of customs duties, postage rates, income tax and super tax, and a surcharge on railway rates—estimated to bring in £12,665,000 When passing this Finance Bill, the Finance member remarked that it was, "if not a very pleasant measure, yet a sound piece of legislation" I venture to say that for a young Legislature, which had been subjected to abuse by hostile and sometimes disloyal critics, the 1921 Finance Bill was a very courageous and statesmanlike measure

Alas! the anticipated deficit of 18 crores actually grew into a deficit of 34 crores, whilst the Budget for the next year, 1922-23, showed an estimated deficit of no less than $31\frac{3}{4}$ crores (£21,166,000) To meet this very grave deficit the Assembly were invited by Government again to vote heavy increases of taxation all round, and also to double the salt duties, in order to yield a further £19,365,000 of additional revenue, and to budget for a deficit of £1,833,000 The Assembly were now thoroughly dissatisfied and alarmed at the Executive's apparent inability to control the Central Government's finances On February 3, 1922, the Assembly had resolved to call upon Government to appoint a strong Retrenchment Committee In March the Assembly cut down Government's demands for grants (*i.e.*, estimated expenditure) for 1922-23 by about nine crores (£6,000,000), rejected Government's proposal to double the salt duties, *but voted other increases of taxation, etc., estimated to bring in a further* £16,500,000 Here, again, it will be recognized that the Assembly acted with wisdom and foresight Government accepted not only the cuts made by the Assembly, but also the Assembly's refusal to vote doubled salt duties, and endeavoured loyally to carry out the Assembly's wishes in every way Government also appointed the Inchcape Retrenchment Committee, who commenced their labours in November last

And then came the young Assembly's third Budget—

that for 1923-24. Whilst the year 1922-23, notwithstanding the increased taxation, showed a deficit of over £11,000,000, the Budget for the new year, as presented by Sir Basil Blackett on March 1, 1923, revealed a deficit of only £2,840,000. By cutting down certain demands for grants the Assembly reduced this anticipated deficit to under £2,500,000. The Government of India once more proposed to double the salt duties (which would yield £3,000,000 in 1923-24, and probably over £4,500,000 in 1924-25) in order to cover the possible deficit of £2,453,000 in 1923-24. The Assembly on March 20, 1923, again rejected this proposal. This time the Governor-General (Lord Reading), disagreeing with the Assembly, and holding the view that India's credit in the London money market would suffer if the anticipated deficit—under £2,500,000—were not covered in the way proposed by Government, immediately restored the doubled salt duties in the Finance Bill, and asked the Council of State (largely a Government-nominated body) to pass the Bill in its original form. This the Council of State, by the aid of its Government nominees, did. The amended Bill was again put before the Assembly on March 26, who again rejected the doubled salt duties. Lord Reading at once employed the ultimate emergency clause of the Government of India Act, and "certified" the Finance Bill under Section 67b, thus overriding the Legislative Assembly. Further, His Excellency, under the proviso of Section 67b, directed that the Act, as certified, should come into operation forthwith. The doubled salt duties are therefore now being collected amidst the protests of the people's representatives on the Council of State and Legislative Assembly who have objected to the doubled duties—some ninety-nine legislators in all.

It is important to understand exactly why the Assembly for the second year in succession declined to pass the doubled salt duties. In the first place, a tax on salt is in itself generally admitted to be a bad tax, for salt (like bread

in England) is a necessary of life, the reduced consumption of which must affect the health of the people. British statesmen have condemned and have endeavoured to reduce (if not abolish altogether) the Indian tax on salt. The tax is very unpopular, and its doubling at the present juncture has been strongly condemned in every Indian paper. Some leading European newspapers like the *Times of India* (Bombay) have also condemned the doubling of the salt duties in present circumstances.

But the majority of Indian legislators who are opposed to the doubled salt duties argue that the provision of another three to four and a half millions sterling of additional revenue (by way of unpopular taxation, too) is really unnecessary, having regard to (a) the Inchcape cuts of £13,000,000, and (b) the certainty of improved trade, and therefore improved revenues, in the immediate future. Could the whole of the Inchcape retrenchments have been carried through during the current year the deficit would probably have disappeared. And for the future, that portion of the "cuts" which is not of a recurring nature will be balanced by increased revenues, which are certain to follow the removal of all restrictions on exports, the disposal of almost "record" crops, and the gradual restoration of normal trade conditions. Thus further taxation is unnecessary.

Many members of the Assembly feel that the estimated deficit of 1923-24 need not have appeared at all. A little more severity in making cuts, a little more optimism in estimating revenue from railways, posts, telegraphs, income tax, customs, etc., as the result of the improved trade conditions referred to above, would have closed the gap. But if other ways were preferred, the debiting of certain public works expenditure of a capital nature to loans instead of to current revenues (which, as mentioned above, have borne the whole cost of a local war and heavy frontier expenditure) would have brought about this result. Or if instead of appropriating £1,000,000, as is now being

done by Government, Sir Basil Blackett had used, say, £3,500,000 from the inefficiently administered and over-swollen Gold Standard Reserve now lying largely inoperative at India's credit in London, this estimated temporary deficit would have disappeared

But if none of these alternatives found favour in Government's eyes, then a small temporary surcharge (half an anna in the rupee was proposed) on custom duties, and taxes on income, plus a reimposition of the former 4 annas an ounce import duty on silver, would have yielded all the money required. Government could have carried two, perhaps all of these taxes by large majorities had they cared to do so. But Government elected to force doubled salt duties on the Assembly in preference to any other course

The position now is this. A few members of the Assembly have resigned, and several others are talking of doing so. This is in itself quite useless except as an indication of the strength of feeling aroused by Government's action. The life of the Assembly is almost at an end, and the General Election—the first held since the reformed Legislatures have been at work—will take place in October. Already intelligent critics are asking legislators, in particular those in the majority who rejected the doubled salt duties, what steps they are going to take in the forthcoming elections to fight the hostile groups of Congress-wallahs, non-co-operators, Gandhi-ites, and enemies of British rule in India. So far, the loyal Moderates have been unable to give any answer, for the ground has been cut away from under them by the action of Government in certifying the Finance Bill of 1923, that has doubled the salt duties *in spite of the Assembly's adverse vote*. The coming elections will therefore be very critical ones. Hostile critics have repeatedly described the reforms as a mere sham on the ground that they do not give to Indian legislators real power, but simply conceal the same old autocratic methods against which modern political thought is fighting so persistently. The recent doubling of the salt duties by

"certification" seems to confirm this view. A largely signed petition by leading Indian legislators of both Houses—Council of State and Legislative Assembly (some ninety-nine members have spoken or voted against the doubled salt duties)—has been presented to the House of Commons, and now lies on the table of the House for members' consideration.

On June 14, when the House of Commons went into Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates to consider the vote of £120,000 for the India Office, Mr Trevelyan (representing the Labour Party), moved a reduction of the vote by £100 in order to challenge the policy of the India Office in supporting Lord Reading's action in the above matter. Mr Trevelyan was careful to explain that the point he was raising was not primarily the merits or demerits of the doubled salt duty, but the administrative wisdom of using an emergency power on the present occasion, and the loss of confidence in British promises which had already resulted. Mr Snell, another Labour member, emphasized this point, and expressed a fear that the people of India might in the circumstances regard Parliament as "faithless and unjust" unless some corrective action were taken.

The Secretary of State for India (Earl Winterton), when replying, entirely ignored this point, and confined himself to a lengthy repetition of the arguments already used by the Government of India and by Lord Reading—namely, that Government viewed with alarm the growth of India's indebtedness "due to persistent overspending" (a strange way of describing the Government of India's past financial policy of debiting the whole of the cost of the last Afghan War and subsequent Frontier Expeditions to *current revenues and none of it to loans*), that another deficit Budget could not be tolerated because of the danger to India's credit (a danger that no financial authority in India admits), that no other course being possible (which the Legislative Assembly in March last stoutly questioned), the salt duties

had to be doubled. Moreover, these doubled duties, Lord Winterton asserted, would press very lightly on the peoples of India.

To the petition to the House of Commons Lord Winterton referred in detail. His replies to the six objections raised by the petitioners were as follows.

(a) The petition quoted Mr Innes, Member for Commerce and Industry, as describing the salt tax as "theoretically a bad tax." Lord Winterton replied that most taxes are "theoretically bad," and quoted Mr Innes's later words, "He was utterly unable to agree that the enhancement of the tax was going to be any hardship to anyone—even to the very poor."

(b) To say that "it is wrong to tax a vital necessity of life, the reduced consumption of which is likely to affect the health of great masses of the people," is "language of exaggeration." "A family of five (Indians) now spend Rs 10 a month on food on the basis of prices obtaining two years ago, and Rs 5 a month as compared with last year, and against this, the extra expenditure on salt is at the most R 1 a year."

(c) The petition stated "it is quite unnecessary to call up India's 'ultimate reserve of taxation' (Government's own description of the salt duties) *when the crops in India are amongst the finest on record, and the outlook in India is improving daily*." Lord Winterton considered that the words in italics answered the first portion of the sentence. How, I cannot see.

(d) The petitioners thought it wrong "in the present difficult times" to impose an unpopular tax that would eventually yield £4,500,000 per annum when the present year's estimated deficit was under £2,500,000. Lord Winterton replied "We are not concerned with what the tax may eventually yield, because it is only imposed for one year, and the Assembly in any case will have the opportunity of considering it anew next year."

(e) As to other forms of taxation less unpopular than doubled salt duties being possible, Government had consulted the various parties in the Assembly for, Lord Winterton believed, two days, but came to the conclusion that doubled salt duties were the best. (The actual consultation was a short meeting in one of the Committee Rooms lasting well under two hours—a kind of pandemonium whereat all spoke at once, and no conclusion was arrived at by members of the Assembly. Only Government can introduce new taxation, and Government could have easily carried by a large majority a restoration of the import duty on commercial silver, and a temporary surcharge on custom duties, had they so desired.)

(f) The petitioners stated that the estimated deficit of this year would disappear when all essential retrenchments had been made. Lord Winterton replied "We have already given effect to several of these (Lord Inchcape's) economies."

Government's argument regarding the loss of India's credit in London, if an estimated temporary deficit of under £2,500,000 were allowed to appear this year, was completely discounted by Lord Winterton himself, who gave details of the "progressively more favourable terms" on which the last four Indian Sterling Loans had been floated.

in London · and that, be it noted, *notwithstanding far greater deficits and a much worse outlook, for Lord Inchcape's recommendations and retrenchments had not then been made*

Mr Fisher (speaking, no doubt, for the National Liberal Party) said that he found himself in complete agreement with Lord Winterton's defence of Lord Reading's action, but he hoped that the addition to the salt duty was not permanent, and that an undertaking would be given by Government that it would be taken off as soon as the retrenchments now being introduced had been fully carried out. Other speakers emphasized the two conflicting views on the one hand that Lord Reading's action in doubling the salt duties was thoroughly sound, and on the other that a grave political blunder had been committed. The time allotted to the discussion of the vote, only four hours, having expired, amidst protests from both Liberal and Labour speakers, the debate stood adjourned, and India is therefore still awaiting Parliament's final decision in the matter. It is believed that, in response to requests from Tory, Labour, and Liberal sides of the House, Parliament will find another occasion in which to conclude the discussion and permit the Secretary of State to reply to the points raised by the Opposition in the House *

* It is understood that the debate in the House of Commons on the India Office Vote will be resumed on Thursday, July 5 —ED, "ASIATIC REVIEW"

NOTES ON INDO-CHINA

BY LÉON ARCHIMBAUD

(Deputy of the French Parliament)

THE most important French colony, as far as the progress of education is concerned, is Indo-China. In that country there are to be found races possessed of great intelligence who are capable of assimilating our Western culture. They are at the same time endowed with a very old civilization, which in some respects is on a higher level than our own.

Proper instruction is even more essential in the Far East than in the West, as the whole system of society and government is dependent upon it. During many centuries only the literate people had a place in Chinese society, and that place corresponded with their University distinctions. A man's whole life was spent in passing examinations, and it was a frequent sight to see candidates nearly eighty years old pushing their way into examination rooms. These examinations lasted several weeks, and no candidate was allowed to communicate with the outside world. They were kept virtually prisoners, and their numbers were often several thousand.

It can be easily understood that the proper introduction of education was indispensable in order to prevent the indigenous inhabitants from becoming hostile. As a matter of fact, thirty years passed before Western education was introduced, and one can easily understand this negligence, as our attention was occupied by other cares. Until 1908 the Annamites had to rely on their own traditional education, consisting of exercises in memory training and the rhetoric which they themselves felt to be useless. From 1908 the Governor-General created the first University in Indo-China, the success of which was astonishing, for in a few days the aristocracy of Tonkin inscribed their names for the lectures. Unfortunately, political troubles led very quickly to the suppression of this University. A long time elapsed, and the renewal of this effort was due to M. Sarraut. The success of his plans is admitted even by the Annamites themselves. Last year M. Pham Quyu, a graduate of Tonkin, declared during a conference that "M. Sarraut had understood that it was not possible to govern an old race having behind it twenty centuries of history and the possessor of a long national tradition in the same way as one would govern the primitive peoples of Africa. His words have gone straight to the heart and have evoked

an echo throughout Indo-China. M Sarraut had gained the goodwill of the Annamites for all time."

Education in Indo-China is now completely organized, and consists of three grades—the primary, secondary, and superior—the first two of which comprise French and mixed schools.

Primary education is given in 24 French schools counting 786 pupils, and in 2,816 elementary schools counting 124,532 pupils. In the latter instruction is given in the Annamite language, and the pupil only learns the rudiments of French. However, in more important centres there are 238 schools fully equipped in which French is taught to 38,334 pupils. Lastly, above these there are 16 classes of instruction with 2,749 students. Primary education is being more and more developed: last year 76 new elementary schools were opened in Cochinchina alone.

Secondary education is given at the Lycée of Hanoi which houses 639 pupils, and at the college of Saigon with 251 scholars. In these two establishments the pupils receive French secondary education, including Latin and Greek, and local secondary education as well. The Lycée at Hanoi is particularly developed, and can boast of a cinematograph and a course of physical instruction. The studies at Saigon are not on such a high level, possibly on account of the climate which is very depressing. Possibly this school will be transferred to Dalat on the plateau of Langhian when that station becomes the Delhi of Indo-China.

Besides primary education of the superior class there is a training for professions which plays a very large part in the scheme and provides a secondary technical education.

Five industrial schools have been opened in each section of the Union, without counting the Asiatic School of Mechanics founded at Saigon in 1906, and comprising a course of three years, followed by a period of two years devoted to the practical application of the knowledge obtained. There are also schools of decorative art, the object of which is to apply the local arts to the needs of industry. At Giadinh is a school for design and carving, at Thudaumot furniture-making is taught, at Bienhoa ceramics and metal-work, at Phnom-Penh the school of Cambodian art gives instruction in the various phases of Khmer art. The school of applied arts at Hanoi trains cabinet-makers, sculptors, metal-workers, decorators, mechanics, chauffeurs, and lace-makers. Professional training of this kind, owing to its practical nature, is very much

appreciated by the inhabitants who join the classes in great numbers. The apex of this whole system, however, is the University of Indo-China, with 110 professors and 525 students. Amongst the latter are 30 Chinese Nationals, who carry the prestige of the University to the outer world. It is the creation of M. Sarraut, and it meets with the greatest favour of the inhabitants. Some Frenchmen think that perhaps it is a mistaken policy to lavish superior education on our subjects, and thus supply them with the means of doing without us. But the war has shown that this was a mistaken view, as was proved by their attachment to the allied corps. Doubtless, the number of French officials is on the decrease, as the inhabitants gradually take over the larger number of the posts, but this is all to the good. It is the best proof we can have of the expansion of our civilization.

A few words may be added on the great problem of language. Which language should be the vehicle for instruction—Annamite or French? The point to consider is whether instruction in French is profitable for the mass of the population. It would appear that this is not the case, and that it is difficult to impose on children the study of a difficult language at the same time as the acquisition of general knowledge. The party known as "Young Annam," who cherished dreams of an Annamite State, are carrying on an ardent campaign in favour of instruction entirely in Annamite. To justify this theory they have recourse to the cry that the natives should develop according to their own standard, and that they should remain within those limits. Moreover, they praise the Annamite language and boast of its precision and sweetness. It may be answered that there is no Annamite literature beyond popular songs which are certainly charming and which are being collected. The chief objection, however, is that the Annamite language, in order to express articles of daily use, must borrow from the Chinese and French, the result of which is a mixed vocabulary with many foreign words. Besides, how can one imagine effective instruction in the Annamite language when one is studying physics or chemistry. To sum up, only certain Annamite nationalists demand the abolition of the French language, clearly in order that they may exercise a certain power over the whole population, but the latter does not in the least desire the return of the era of the Mandarins which was so oppressive, but, on the contrary, rather the development of French instead. It is there that their true interests lie.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS OF INDIA

BY EVERARD COTES

THIS paper is an attempt to dissect out the newspapers from the other contributing causes which, combined with one another, make up the political situation in India of the present day. It is a factor, I shall endeavour to show, of much larger significance than is at all generally realized

What, then, are the newspapers of India? This question is not as easily answered as it may seem. I was myself a good many years in journalism in that country before I began to find out at all completely. My own work brought me chiefly into contact with the larger journals. I shall refer to them presently, but must begin very much lower down with the vernacular sheets of which there are hundreds. I have not had very much to do with these vernacular sheets myself, and the weird characters in which they are printed, be they Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Guzerati, Tamil, Burmese, or any others of the many languages spoken in India, are mostly beyond my comprehension, though the news agency I managed supplied a number of them directly, and practically all of them indirectly, with a large portion of their news.

How, then, do these vernacular sheets affect the life of the people of India? To understand this, we must begin with the village which, as all know, is the unit of the social fabric in the country. It is here that the vernacular sheet exercises most of its influence. The schoolmaster, the honorary magistrate, or the local pleader may be the only actual subscribers, but the contents are read aloud and discussed in the long evenings to an extent that makes the effective circulation very much larger than the smallness of the sales would seem to indicate. At one time of my career

I could have guided the visitor into offices in odoriferous gullies in Indian provincial towns where the vernacular sheet takes shape. Here could one see the reed pen of antiquity still industriously at work on the lithograph stone. Here inking was done by hand, and wooden presses creaked to the straining muscles of brown-skinned coolies, and imperfectly clad editors, managers, and printers toiled cheerfully through the hours for remuneration that the poorest European would have refused, for great amongst his own people is the *Chappakhana Malik*, and much is the influence he wields. In some of the bigger centres, and especially in Bombay, the vernacular paper is to be met with in a further condition of development, housed in spacious editorial offices, and provided with modern machinery, and highly trained managers and staffs. To this class belong such important and widely read Guzerati newspapers as the *Jami-Jamshed*, or *Samachar*, the *Sanvartaman* and *Parsi*.

The stage next to the vernacular newspapers in the Indian press world is filled by Indian-run English journals. These are newspapers printed in English, turned out by European methods, and often conducted with ability, though entirely in Indian hands. An excellent account was given some years ago in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, one of the liveliest of these journals, of how it had changed its language from the vernacular to English in a single night, nearly half a century ago, in order to escape the official supervision imposed by Lord Lytton's Press Act, which applied to newspapers appearing in languages other than English. The reason for this famous piece of legislative discrimination against vernacular journals appears to have been that certain papers published in Indian dialects had been found by the officials of the day to be disseminating sedition, whereas those at that time appearing in English were all in British hands and, therefore, not suspected of subversive tendencies. In the generation which has since elapsed,

the example set by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has been followed by other newspapers of similar class, and the number published in English is now considerable. I have yet to learn, however, that the use of the English language has had any modifying effect upon the views they express which may be in favour of, as well as against, the Government. Some of these Indian-run English newspapers are big and powerful. The *Bengalee* of Calcutta, long edited by Surendra Nath Bannerjee, now a leading member of the Bengal Government, may be taken as an example. Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee, as he now is, will not mind my saying that thirty years ago the *Bengalee* was printed upon an old-fashioned press and reckoned its circulation in hundreds. When I last saw it, it possessed rotary presses of modern pattern, and had become a power from one end of India to the other.

A number of other daily newspapers are included in the same class. I refer to such journals as the *Hindu*, the *New India* and the *Indian Patriot* of Madras, the *Tribune* of Lahore, the *Leader* of Allahabad, and the *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta.

There are several newspapers in which, while the ownership is Indian, the directing staffs are largely European. These take their politics from their owners and express all shades of opinion. Amongst them I may name the *Indian Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow, the *Chronicle* of Bombay, and the *Empire* of Calcutta. They are a class of journal at present represented only in the bigger cities, but one that shows signs of developing.

As was to be expected, so essentially a Western institution as the press, when grafted upon an ancient Oriental civilization, has taken on picturesque characteristics from its new environment. It retains, nevertheless, a surprising amount of its Western flavour. The leading article may be written by a gentleman in a *dhoti* sitting crosslegged on an Oriental carpet, just as well as by a frock-coated editor in surroundings that would not be out of place in London.

The advertisements may be largely devoted to the sale of patent medicines of familiar European and American brands. Amongst them, however, one can find such purely Oriental notices as those devoted to the purchase of promising University students to become the husbands of still unsophisticated daughters of prosperous Indian parents. But the manner of the editorials is European down to the use of the pompous Fleet Street "We."

The papers I have so far mentioned are all owned by Indians. Behind them and forming the backbone of the press of India is a class of journal of a very different kind. I refer to a whole battery of powerful European newspapers. These are owned, edited, and managed by Europeans, and are often most ably conducted. Most of them appeal primarily to the British commercial and official classes. They are also read by educated Indians, and are much quoted in vernacular and other Indian papers. They represent the aristocracy of the newspaper press of India, and, like all other classes of journalistic enterprise in India have been growing vigorously of late years.

When I first went to India, the late Mr Robert Knight was eloquently preaching in the Calcutta *Statesman* a liberalism, which in those far-off days was regarded as dangerous by conservative Anglo-Indians. It created an enormous impression at the time, and was the first effectual stirring I became acquainted with of principles now accepted officially in far more daring form than their first advocate suggested. The Calcutta *Englishman*, another leading Anglo-Indian paper, reflected Tory politics under the genial personality of the late Mr J O'B Saunders. The Allahabad *Pioneer* had not then developed the caustic genius of Mr George Chesney, who subsequently served it so brilliantly, but it had already become under its founder, the late Sir George Allen, a power in the official world. The *Times of India* was laying the foundations of the great influence it has subsequently won under such editors as

Sir Thomas Bennett, Mr Lovat Fraser, and Sir Stanley Reed. The names of Mr Rudyard Kipling and Mr Kay Robinson had become familiar to Anglo-Indians in connection with the *Civil and Military Gazette*. It was only later on that I became acquainted with the achievements of Mr Lawson and Sir Frank McCarthy who have since made their respective papers, the *Madras Mail* and the *Rangoon Gazette*, each the leading Anglo-Indian organ in the province concerned.

Other outstanding names that occur to me in connection with the Anglo-Indian press are those of the late Mr Howard Hensman, and the late Sir Maitland Park, who at different periods represented the *Pioneer* at Simla. I must also not omit those of Mr Paul Knight and his three gifted brothers Hugh, Robert, and Phil, the last named, I am sorry to say, recently deceased, who have continued the work of their distinguished father, and brought the *Statesman* to the position of influence and authority it now occupies.

It is Anglo-Indian journals in India like the *Statesman*, *The Englishman*, the *Times of India*, *The Pioneer*, the *Madras Mail*, the *Rangoon Gazette*, and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, that set the standard for journalism in the country at large and act as a moderating influence upon the whole. Their significance would in any case be large, and it is magnified many times over by the existence of the vernacular and other Indian papers, which—however extreme they may sometimes be in their views—draw much of their information from the more moderate British organs, and carry it in only partially transmuted shape to strata in the community, that would otherwise be at the mercy of sometimes inconceivably fantastic or even diabolically misleading and mischievous rumours.

The importance of the newspaper press of India is increased by the existence of a fine agency service of world news cabled to it daily by Reuter's organization. This was originated by the late Baron de Reuter, and has been much enlarged under his successor, Sir Roderick Jones. It is an

organization which has recently sustained a severe loss in the death of its much-respected Eastern manager, Mr. A H Kingston I may also be permitted to mention another extensive Indian news organization, now also in Reuter's hands, with which I was myself for many years connected, and of which I am still exceedingly proud I refer to the *Eastern News Agency*, with its branches the *Associated Press of India* and the *Indian News Agency*, which handle the internal news of India much as is done in England by the *Press Association* and in the United States by the *Associated Press*

I should here speak of a remarkable change which is gradually coming over Anglo-Indian journalism

Twenty-seven years ago, when I was running the *Indian Daily News*, then one of the smaller of the Anglo-Indian newspapers, in Calcutta, thousands of young Indians were already, season after season, receiving elaborate English education in the Calcutta and other Indian Universities Amongst my colleagues on the Calcutta Municipal Council, where I then had the honour to represent the Calcutta Trades Association, were highly cultivated Indians, who made long and eloquent speeches in high-flown English Indians, nevertheless, occupied generally only subordinate posts in Anglo-Indian newspaper offices Many a sweltering night I had in the course of my duties on the *Indian Daily News* to leave the quiet and comparatively airy offices of the European editorial staff and to descend into the noisy inferno of the composing, correcting, and printing rooms beneath Here Hindus from Bengal and Muhammadans from the North-West Provinces, clad each in little more than a cotton sheet, toiled in a dense atmosphere of acrid *hubble-bubble* smoke, and fumes of ink, steam, and lubricating oil mingled with emanations from semi-naked humanity in tropical mass Grimy punkahs fluttered actively overhead, and stirred, if they did not renovate, what we breathed The work of preparing the issue of the night, nevertheless, went actively forward to a babel of

high-pitched Bengali and sharp Urdu tongues Incredibly dirty type was picked by hand out of tiny compartments in wide wooden trays, where it had been put ready in advance by Indian distributors, and was clapped with extraordinary dexterity and skill, each letter into its place in the *stick* or little brass holder Thence it was passed on in more solid blocks to *forms* on an ancient flat-bottomed press, which presently would clang wearily to the thrusting of a wheezy oil engine, as the thousand or more copies that formed our morning edition were slowly ground out Eurasian correctors in shirt sleeves rolled to the elbow crowded one another round a dimly-lighted table in a stifling dungeon alongside

It was the sound policy of the *Indian Daily News* to employ Europeans, who having to be imported, were necessarily expensive, only in such posts as could not be filled efficiently by local and, therefore, cheaper Indian journalists As editor of this particular organ, I had, therefore, to study all possibilities of increasing the proportion of Indians employed One of the sources I explored was that of the Calcutta University I took on graduate after graduate and endeavoured to train them to the work required My experience, however, was that, at that time—it was nearly thirty years ago—very little could be done in the direction aimed at Indian talent and education of the requisite standard appeared to be far too scarce, and what there was of it far too highly priced to be at all economically used as a substitute for Europeans to any very considerable extent

I have been much struck, therefore, by the rapidity of the increase that has since taken place in the supply of Indians capable of assuming a real share in the higher branches of European journalism in India With the passing of the clanking flat-bottomed presses, the cranky oil engines, and the insanitary conditions I have described, and with the introduction, in their place, of modern methods and machinery, has come also what, to me, seems a very

significant movement in the direction of the substitution of Indians for Europeans in the higher posts. When I left India four years ago, Indians had found their way into a number of editorial rooms, long the exclusive sanctum of Europeans. Managerial posts, too, were held by them to an extent which, a generation previously, would have been thought entirely out of the question in well-run offices. In the correcting rooms and the reporting establishments, the change in the direction of the reinforcement of European by Indian talent has been even more pronounced. I have seen the shorthand work gradually change over in similar manner. I could even name a number of Indians who are doing excellent work as special correspondents, though this is a branch of Anglo-Indian journalism, where the difficulties to be overcome are extraordinarily great, owing to the writing having to be in a foreign language, and addressed to readers with a very different outlook upon life from that of the writers. I should mention also another very important change that has taken place. Thirty years ago, the Anglo-Indian and the Indian press, with some honourable exceptions, were as the poles apart. Neither understood the other, nor were the two at all generally able to combine in any united movement. Now the same news agencies serve both alike. The line of cleavage has become political instead of racial. One observes sustained endeavour on the part of the members of the Anglo-Indian press to understand their Indian colleagues and to make personal friends with them. Amongst Indian journalists, too, one finds a real desire to reciprocate in kind, and to put aside age-long burdens of Oriental suspicion and mistrust. Relations of mutual respect and cordiality are growing up which, as I shall presently show, are having far-reaching results.

It will be seen from all this that the newspaper press of India differs from the newspaper press of England chiefly in matters of adaptation to local conditions. It is compiled in similar manner. It depends upon systems of news-

gathering, reporting, and commenting, which, though much less elaborated, are essentially similar to those of Fleet Street. The men who direct the principal newspapers in India have almost all been trained, either directly or indirectly, in British journalistic methods. That the organs of the Indian press appear in a number of different scripts and languages to correspond with those of their readers, that the lithograph stone and the indigenous reed pen may, in some cases, even still do duty for the rotary printing machine and the linotype setter, that some of the compositors may be ignorant of the meaning of the words they set up, and that to a few of them the very letters they employ may be symbols only without significance even in sound, do not remove, though they definitely modify, the essential features of resemblance that underlie the whole.

THE PRESS IN INDIAN POLITICS

We may now proceed to consider how this press, itself so essentially an offshot of Europe, acts and re-acts on Oriental politics and thought.

The voter in India, such as he is, to whom the political fate of that great country is now being gradually transferred, is not inert. He does certainly in some vague way think out for himself certain political problems—especially such as are connected with the hunger (*bukha*) and the pence (*paisa*)—that so intimately affect the well-being of himself and his friends. Ignorance, credulity, and emotion may be his age-long heritage, but this only makes it the more essential that his education should not be unsound. The Brahmin and the Mullah, who are his prophet and his priest, do something to direct his basic human impulses of acquisitiveness and philoprogenitiveness, and to develop them in the direction of the more complex sentiments of altruism and love of country. The Pundit, too, may help to awaken corporate consciousness out of the maxims from *Khoran* and *Shastras*, which his pupils cypher in crabbed

Hindi or flowing *Urdu* on the *dhoti* smudged slate of the village school. It becomes important, therefore, to recognize that Brahmin, Mullah, and Pundit are all diligent readers of the newspaper press. Education in the ordinary sense ceases in India, as elsewhere, when a boy leaves school. The newspaper then steps in, and I may say in most cases is almost all that the ordinary adult Indian reads. Many reasons combine to bring about this state of things. The Oriental is little distracted by side issues. Games and sport, for example, which fill so large a place in the life of the ordinary European, leave him cold in the great majority of cases. The poverty of other subjects of public interest in India, and the decay of religion which the late Sir William Meyer has pointed out in his encyclopædic gazetteer was once the main subject of discussion in the Indian press, have been other reasons why newspapers take a place in the life of the politically conscious classes of India relatively much larger than in the corresponding community in any other country in the world.

The Indian has a very special mentality of his own, due possibly to the heat of the climate of the land he inhabits, the mixture of Aryan, Dravidian, and other races from which he springs, the kaleidoscopic history through which his ancestors have passed, or all of these combined. It disposes him to be argumentative, and to achieve in words rather than in deeds. Journalism thus makes a special appeal to him as a career, and he is taking it up in increasing numbers. The intellectual Bengali, the contemplative Tamil, the swift-witted Mahratta, and the outspoken Sikh, may differ fundamentally from one another alike in physical attributes and in material outlook, but they have in common the fact that they are all swayed by phrases and emotional ideals to an extent the more phlegmatic Westerner often finds difficult to understand. This common temperamental characteristic may be increased or diminished by education, but it is always in here, and enormously enhances the influence of the

written word. It also magnifies grievances and makes their expression essential

These general considerations all require to be taken into account in appraising the nature of the part played by the press in India, as the principal organization which affords the orator, be he impassioned, fanatic, or platitudinous beurocrat, that wider audience which the spoken word cannot reach without its help

I suppose we must take it as arising from Indian official recognition of these basic facts, that a long series of repressive Press Acts have been placed at different times in the past half-century upon the Indian Statute Book. Most of these Press Acts have now rightly been repealed or mitigated, in deference to popular Indian opinion. Bitterness produced by them, however, remains, and helps to bring about an attitude of mind which finds it easier to echo loudly-expressed platform oratory, than to incur the odium of ranging itself with the harassed forces of a Government now apparently become uncertain even of its title to protect itself and its friends. With Government weak and Opposition strong such restrictions as are still nominally unrepealed leave the press practically unfettered and with political influence that grows stronger every day

One of the results of this state of things is that the Indian editor of yesterday is becoming the leading politician of to-day

Sir Surendra Nath Banerji, Mr Sastri, and Mr K C Roy, also the late Mr Tilak, the late Mr Gokhale, and many another artificer of the present democratic constitution of India, have owed much of their influence to having been, at one time or other, engaged in Indian newspaper work. Another fact to be noted is the attention which even the extremist Indian patriot pays to the press for inspiration in advance for his deeds, and for justification for them after they have been done

As an example of this, I may mention that the police succeeded in learning the date of manufacture of one of the

bombs, thrown ten years ago at a criminal intelligence officer in Calcutta, by politically minded Indian students, from the fact that the contents included shreds of paper torn from the dated pages of a recently published Indian newspaper, noted for its violent doctrines, which had been used to wrap up the picric acid forming the kernel of the political argument intended to be used on this occasion

I have also heard of cuttings from the columns of what is, perhaps, the most sedate and conservative Anglo-Indian journal in India being carried at the head of an Indian Home Rule procession through the streets of Calcutta, so much importance was attached by the leaders of the popular movement concerned to their having found in this journal—usually so antagonistic to their political faith—arguments which they thought told upon their side

It is the press, more than any other agency, which for many years past has kept public attention from one end of India to the other concentrated upon political as opposed to other issues. It is the press to-day, better-informed and continually growing in circulation and authority, which enables the Indian voter to hear in his village more or less accurate versions of the speeches of the member who represents him at Delhi, and which makes it possible for him also gradually to form some kind of a dim idea of the questions that are agitated there. It is the hope of the newly-introduced scheme of democratic government in India that sooner or later a voter will be evolved who will be capable of casting a reasonably independent and intelligent suffrage. No one who knows India can doubt that this vital, if still largely hypothetical, but not on that account at all ultimately impossible pivot in the governmental machine, needs all that can be done to help him. Such help can be given most effectually, I maintain, through the medium of the press, which for all its liveliness, and despite the excesses of its extremist wing, is a permanent force of almost unlimited capabilities which are growing and expanding on every side.

How far press activity will conduce to stable administration in the future must depend largely upon the extent to which it is able to continue to enlist the co-operation of Indians and Europeans of character and ability in its service. If there be one conviction more than any other which the old European newspaper man takes away with him from India, it is, I think, of how essential is whole-hearted co-operation between these two sets of men in the interests, not only of Indian journalism itself, but also in those of the country as a whole. It is a co-operation I have found that is capable of being evolved and maintained wherever mutual relations are based upon a foundation of equality, and wherever they are cemented by personal intercourse and good-feeling. In this connection I would specially speak of journalists from Bengal in general, and from Eastern Bengal in particular, as this much-libelled region supplies so preponderating a proportion of the rising generation of Indian newspaper men, but I also include Madrassis, Parsis, Punjabis, Mahrattas, and men of Hindustan. All of them no doubt have weaknesses and disabilities—who amongst us can say that this is not also the case with himself? They also, I have found, possess gifts and virtues which in the past, I think, have not been recognized nearly as fully as they deserve. I should like to say, therefore, that I have known Indian journalists working in far-off Mofussil stations who could write the truth about crimes of sedition and other political happenings coming within their ken, only at the cost of risk to themselves, not merely of personal violence from one side or the other, but also of social ostracism from their own relations even harder to be borne. Yet I have known these men send to the news agency I was concerned with, not once or twice, but regularly—day by day and week by week for years together—reports and statements which have proved upon close subsequent investigation, for they have often raised storms of criticism, to be almost entirely devoid of conscious bias. I have had Indian colleagues

and friends whose loyalty to the organization we were mutually connected with has stood the test of foul weather as well as of fine—men who have maintained a high standard of integrity and devotion to duty through many years of often exceedingly poorly remunerated service. The number of such men in the ranks of Indian journalism is increasing, and I cannot too much emphasize the importance of encouraging them.

The European, of course, is also essential to the partnership I have indicated. Coming as he does from a more stable civilization, he brings into the combine traditions of Western efficiency without which journalistic advance in India can be neither sound nor enduring. In order that the *European newspaper man in India may be a help and not a stumbling-block* in the way of progress, it is absolutely necessary that he should be himself of good standing. I cannot too strongly deprecate what has occasionally happened in the way of engaging in England journalists for service in India who do not possess this vital qualification. To send out inferior white men to serve on Indian papers is, at best, to waste money, and, at worst, to introduce an element liable to ally itself with the very considerable forces which make for that race hatred that has long been the greatest danger that threatens India.

This brings me to the question of extremism in the Indian press and all that is therewith involved. Here I may perhaps be forgiven for repeating two very trite generalizations, for they seem to me to be both important and often overlooked. One is that upon the whole the men who run newspapers in India, like those concerned with most other enterprises in this imperfect world, are generally out for nothing more idealistic than to make a living for themselves and their families, and to see their undertakings flourish. The other fact is that every newspaper which fails to attract attention, and therefore readers, also fails to sell or to obtain advertisements, and sooner or later disappears. It is only human nature in these circumstances for an unpros-

perous journal—whether those responsible for it be Indians or Europeans—to take the cheapest, the quickest, and the easiest means of attracting attention. This ordinarily, of course, is to make violent attacks upon the best known and least popular organizations within reach. In practice the principal object selected for attack is usually the Government, since this most nearly fulfils the conditions indicated, while, unlike the private individual, it has the further qualification that it does not as a rule succeed in hitting back very effectually. Grounds for the onslaught are easy to find, as Governments tread heavily on many highly sensitized toes. Competition in attacking Government has thus arisen, from reasons quite apart from politics, amongst the less reputable journals, which in India are practically all in a more or less chronic condition of financial tightness. When upon this highly combustible material is poured the petrol of burning politics, in so fiery an intellectual atmosphere as that of India, it is not surprising that the resultant conflagration should be considerable. It is thus that has arisen much that would otherwise be inexplicable in the less prosperous and therefore less responsible section of the press of India of to-day. It is possible indeed to say that a press which, as a whole, has proved itself to be by far the greatest educational force in the country includes two quite distinct wings. One of these wings is composed of financially substantial and therefore responsible journals—vernacular, Anglo-Oriental, and English—which, though sometimes misled, and always critical and independent, are entitled to every bit of the consideration that appertains to the press in other parts of the world. The other wing, for reasons special to India, is made up of a class of organ which all sober thinkers, just as much in the press as in other branches of the community, would desire to see improved out of the way. Such improvement, I think, can come about only by the slow process of absorption into the ranks of responsible papers. Many attempts have been made officially, with the help on the one hand of the pains

and penalties of special press enactments, and on the other of official competition, to drive the less responsible of the extremist papers off the market. The first of these methods has roused so much suspicion and opposition in circles quite independent of the objects of discipline, that it has had to be very largely abandoned. The second, I may say without disparagement of the utility in certain limited cases of such organs as the *Fauj Akbar*, an official vernacular journal admirably run for Indian sepoys, has hitherto failed to affect the situation appreciably. A solution, I venture to think, will only be found eventually in the growth and expansion of financially independent and therefore responsible journals. This progress will be expedited or retarded, not only by such slow causes as the extent to which education grows, but also by the more direct action of such copyright and other facilities as are afforded to the press generally, and according to the extent to which political, commercial, and industrial developments in India enable legitimate newspaper enterprise to thrive. It cannot be brought about, however, by a wand of magic, and must in any case take time.

Because changes are gradual, however, they are not less liable to be far-reaching. The press of India has developed in the most wonderful manner in the period I have known it, and its growth upon the whole has been for the good of the country. Its advance in the future is certain to continue. The increasing share taken by Indians in the running of it in no way diminishes the field it offers for European talent. The responsibility of its work demands the best in the way of men that the West as well as the East can offer. Neither Indians nor Europeans by themselves can run it to the best advantage, but be the right men of these two communities cordially combined in its service, it can bring, I maintain, into the realm of solid achievement far more in the way of valuable results than is now even envisaged in the unsubstantial sphere of thought.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, April 9, 1923, when a paper was read by Everard Cotes, Esq., entitled "The Newspaper Press of India." J A Spender, Esq., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: The Right Hon Lord Lamington, GCMG, GCIE, the Right Hon. Lord Pentland, GCSI, GCIE, General Sir Edmund Barrow, GCB, GCSI, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, GCIE, KCSI, Sir Lionel Davidson, KCSI, and Lady Davidson, Sir John G Cumming, KCIE, CSI, Sir Patrick Fagan, KCIE, CSI, Sir George Shaw, CSI, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Thomas J Bennett, CIE, MP, Sir Duncan J Macpherson, CIE, Mr C E Buckland, CIE, Mr A Porteous, CIE, Mr F H Brown, CIE, Mr N C Sen, OBE, Mr S Lupton, OBE, Mr John Kelsall, Mr F H Skrine, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, KIH, Miss Scatcherd, Mr F J P Richter, Mr G M Ryan, Mr O Lloyd Evans, Mr and Mrs J P Bedford, Colonel F S Terry, Major G W Gilbertson, Mr Brownrigg, Miss Shaw, Mr G B Colman, Mr W T Coulton, Mr F C Channing, Miss Collis, Mr J P Collins, Mrs. Drury, Mr and Mrs H R H Wilkinson, Mr J Sladen, Mr J E Ferrard, Rev O Younghusband, Colonel A S Roberts, Mrs Martley, Miss Partridge, Mrs White, Mr R G Armstrong, Mr Moulvi A R. Nayyar, Rev H Halliwell, Miss Delaforce, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my very pleasant duty to introduce to you Mr Everard Cotes, who is going to read a paper on a subject which was never more important than at the present time. The Indian Press has always been an anxious problem, but now, when we have embarked upon more democratic institutions, to have knowledge and understanding of it becomes a matter of the greatest importance to the Indian Administrator and, indeed, to the English people. There can be nobody better qualified to speak on this subject than Mr Everard Cotes. He has spent a life-time in India serving on Anglo-Indian papers and organizing news-services in India, and I suppose he has had opportunities of seeing all parts of India which have been open to very few officials (Applause)

The paper was then read

MISS SCATCHERD read the following extract from a letter which she had received from Dr John Pollen

"I consider the East India Association owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mr Everard Cotes for his able, thoughtful, and most encouraging paper on 'The Newspaper Press of India,' and I am delighted you have secured such a broad-minded, clear-headed man as my friend Mr J A Spender as a chairman

"It is comforting to be assured that the growth of the Indian Press has

on the whole been for the good of the country, and that the cordial co operation of Indians and Europeans of the right sort will make it more of a success for the good of all than it has ever proved in the past

"I knew Surendra Nath Bannerjee—now Sir Surendra Nath—of the *Bengalee*. He was a 'competition wallah' of my year, and I am one of the few who know from the Collector's of his day, and from the late Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, how different was the treatment accorded to Surendra Nath from that which would have been accorded to a European civilian in his place! But those were the days of superstitious prejudice when—

' We looked, in course of time, to see
Muir, Lawrence, rank with Chatterjee,
And Plowdens alternate with Dutts,
And Ghoses elbow Elliots ' "

But those days are happily now dead in the ICS, and it is refreshing to learn from the lecturer that 'nowadays one observes sustained endeavour on the part of the Anglo Indian Press to understand their Indian colleagues and make personal friends of them' It is certainly most pleasant to hear that relations of mutual respect and cordiality are growing up which are having far reaching results, and I may perhaps here mention that amongst those who have helped to foster good feelings and to do good in India there are few journalists more successful than my old friend Mr F H Brown, C I E.

"I remember well Mr Robert Knight and his gifted sons of the *Statesman*, and how effectually he and they stirred the principles (then anathema, but now accepted officially and in a far more daring form), and, of course, I know Sir Thomas Bennett, V P, Mr Lovat Fraser, and Sir Stanley Reed, all happily still with us I rather wonder the lecturer has not mentioned Maclean and Gratton Geary, who were no mean leaders of thought in my day, both in old Bombay and throughout India

"What the Press really needs is healthy action with due control by the cultivated judgment of society, and I agree with the lecturer in considering that this is a slow process, and mainly depends on the proper education of the people The leading out and uplifting of the masses should, therefore, be our first care

"J POLLEN"

Mr SKRINE said that he might fairly claim to speak of the Anglo Indian Press with inside knowledge, inasmuch as he had contributed many columns to the *Pioneer*, the *Englishman*, and to the *Indian Daily News*, under Mr Cotes' able editorship He thought that London pressmen hardly realized the difficulties under which their colleagues in India laboured The first was climatic, to write leaders and correct proofs at a temperature of 100° was no easy task While editors at home were surrounded by a staff of specialists who were sometimes a little jealous of outsiders, the relatively small circulation of Anglo-Indian dailies compelled their colleagues in India to welcome amateur contributions One of these confessed to the speaker that he often filled yawning columns by imitating

letters to himself, and starting controversies in which he was the sole disputant (Laughter) Lastly, there was the difficulty of working with underlings who knew little or no English, the sixty odd compositors in the *Englishman's* office recognized the types only by their feel! It was not generally known that some of Lord Macaulay's famous Essays were set up at No 9, Hare Street, Calcutta, and sent to the *Edinburgh Review* in galley-proofs He congratulated Mr Cotes on his able and illuminating address

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER, dealing with the subject of the lecture from the point of view of an administrator, said it had been his good fortune or misfortune while Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab to have had a good deal to do with the Indian Press, especially the more shady section of it It was of this he would chiefly speak He gave it a good deal of attention, and received from it a good deal of attention in return—perhaps this was for their mutual benefit He did not agree wholly with the lecturer as to the similitudes between the English and the Indian Press, he thought they were rather superficial, at least in the provinces, and that on examination there would be found to be a great difference between them In England to start a newspaper there was considerable capital necessary, large premises, responsible business and editorial management, and an efficient and highly trained staff Hence there were few mushroom newspapers here In the case of an Indian paper there was little or no capital, usually mean premises, very little sense of responsibility, little or no previous training among the staff, in fact, very often the men who had failed to pass the University examinations drifted into journalism as a *pis aller*, and the ranks of the journalists were also swollen by men who had either left or been driven out of the Government service He could quote scores of instances Under these conditions there were a large number of irresponsible journals started These had to endeavour to make both ends meet, and he was afraid they often tried to do so by unworthy methods, by what the lecturer had called a system of blackmail It had been authoritatively said both in Parliament here, and in the Assembly in India, that a large number of journals in India were started with a view to blackmailing the native princes of India, and he personally knew of many such cases He remembered asking a wealthy gentleman in India who owned a paper and complained that he was losing money by it why he went on doing so, and he said it paid him, because if he did not have a paper of his own he would have to spend more in blackmail

Another matter which had been brought prominently to his attention in the Punjab was the acrimony with which religious controversies were fomented and pursued in certain sections of the Press The Punjab had three great religions, Muhammadan, Hindu, and Sikh, and some of the organs of those communities were and are engaged in a campaign of mutual abuse and vilification The matter had become so acute as to threaten the peace of the province, and as Lieutenant-Governor he had dealt with it by putting the papers in question, whether Arya Samaj, Sikh, Muhammadan, or Indian Christian, under heavy security By this means he had succeeded in bringing about comparative decency in

religious controversy. He believed that his action had the approval of the great mass of the people who wished to live in harmony with their neighbours, but naturally it drew on him the hostility of the Press.

Another serious abuse of a certain section of the Press was the prevalence of obscene and indecent advertisements. They must remember that in these matters the Indian standard was very different from the British, so that the latter could not be fully applied. But complaints had been made to him by Indians with regard to these indecent advertisements, which were not always confined to the less reputable papers. The method he had adopted had been to serve the papers with a warning that the obscene advertisements must disappear, and, if they did not take heed of the warning, then to prosecute them under the law. The authorities did not press for heavy sentences at first, but if the offences were repeated a heavier fine was imposed. By this means they had succeeded in cleansing the Press to a considerable extent. He had received a message from Indian ladies thanking him for the efforts which the Government had made in cleansing the Press, thus enabling them and their children to read the papers.

The lecturer had told them that one of the surest means of obtaining notoriety and increasing circulation was to attack the Government, and anyone who knew the history of seditious movements in India realized that they were very largely fostered by certain sections of the Press. Since 1897 the Bengal Revolutionary Movement was promoted in that way, also the similar movements in the Deccan and in the Punjab. In 1914 and 1915 there were in the Punjab serious rebellious outbreaks which were mainly promulgated by seditious vernacular newspapers. The infamous *Ghadr* newspaper, issued by Har Dyal in California, and published in four or five Indian vernaculars, was the most potent incentive to mutiny and rebellion at that period, but they had succeeded in excluding it from India during the war. Then after the Armistice there was Ghandi's so called passive resistance movement, which was inaugurated in January, 1919, which swept over the country like a tornado, causing riot, murder, and rebellion, and which, like every other such movement, had been largely propagated by the Press. The *Bengalee* in Calcutta deserved credit for having pointed out whither the movement was leading, and for warning the public against it. Other papers disregarded the warning, and proceedings were taken against them. To prepare the ground for the seditious campaign of 1919 some twenty mushroom papers were started in the Punjab, Delhi, and the United Provinces between January and April with the direct object of fostering hostility to Government and defiance of authority. It would be interesting to trace who was at the back of these papers and how they were financed. All, or nearly all, came to an untimely end, but not till they had done their evil work. This showed what a powerful agency for evil the Press could be in the conditions that existed in India.

In 1919, as they knew, the Reforms were introduced, and as a consequence there was a demand for a repeal of the Press Laws. The question was examined by a Committee of the Legislative Assembly, who reported that as the revolutionary movement was now quiescent and the organiza-

tions that supported it had ceased to exist, the Press Laws might be safely repealed! They were repealed accordingly. The prescience of the Committee, which included the Home and Law Members of the Government of India, may be judged by the fact that within a few weeks the Moplah rebellion broke out. That rebellion cost 10,000 lives and infinite suffering to 1½ millions of people, a high price to pay for a formula—the liberty of the Press. In dealing with the Press of India, he hoped it would be realized from what he had said that one had to adopt a different attitude, because the conditions were radically different from those to which they were accustomed in England. In England the people who read the newspapers were people who could reason for themselves, who were as a rule moderate in their views and the expression of their views, and people who would not be led into lawless outbreaks by exaggerated or malicious statements in the Press. In India more than nine tenths of the people were wholly illiterate, and could only obtain their news by word of mouth, they were inclined to swallow as true anything that appeared in print. The literate class was also very emotional and easily misled. Most people were wanting in the moral courage which would enable them to resist blackmail or libel, and therefore the ground was exactly suited for the unscrupulous journalist, and he was afraid in many cases the unscrupulous journalist had taken advantage of these conditions. If they were to protect the ignorant and credulous masses from these evils they must realize that they could not at present allow in India the unfettered liberty of the Press, which was the pride and privilege of this country (Applause.)

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL said that the Press had played a very important part in India, and it was a misfortune and a grave mistake that the Government and the official class in India had not realized early enough its importance, and had failed to form and instruct public opinion. For many years it had been the habit in official circles either to ignore the Press or to underrate its influence, and very rarely had attempts been made to make the policy of the Government understood—*i.e.*, to bring it within the field of knowledge of a politically immature people. Until relatively recent times, newspapers had to be content with official communiqués, often issued in a form which only the official mind could understand. As far as the Government gave any information to the Press it reserved it in those days for one particular paper, the *Pioneer*, which was a very able paper, but one which had come to be regarded as the sole recipient of the Government's confidence. This had a very bad effect upon the other Anglo-Indian papers, and also upon the Indian Press. When Mr Hensman, one of the most upright and ablest journalists in India, who was the *Pioneer's* correspondent at Simla, ventured on one occasion to offer a mild criticism of the policy of the Viceroy, his name was eliminated from the visitors' list at Government House. This connoted a complete misconception of the functions of a newspaper. There had been considerable progress since then, but there was room for more. The Secretary of State for India had recently appointed another Royal Commission to consider the question of the public services of India.

He (the speaker) had had the honour of serving on a previous Commission on that subject, and he knew how difficult the task of such a Commission would be. The appointment of such a Commission was, however, regarded as absolutely necessary, and it was contended that in no other way could the changes be made which were necessary with regard to the organization of the public services in India under the new conditions of Indian Government. The Commission on which he had served had achieved quite remarkable unpopularity, and the same thing might be predicted for the new Commission, and unfortunately neither the Government of India nor the India Office had made any attempt to prepare Indian public opinion and to explain the character and purpose of the Commission. When the announcement was made he had written a letter to the Editor of *The Times*, in which he had explained what he understood to be the chief purpose of the Commission. As they knew, the Indian Legislative Assembly had rejected the vote for the expenses of the Commission. He had received letters from two Indian friends who were members of the Legislative Assembly, saying that it was very unfortunate that his letter in *The Times* had not appeared in India before the debate took place, because if the reasons he had put forward for the appointment of the Commission had been made public in India, especially with an official *imprimatur*, it would have made a considerable difference in the result. When attempting to train people for self-government the most important thing was to explain to them policies that were being initiated. They could not expect to have the support of public opinion unless they attempted to inform and to guide it. That was what every Government had learnt to do in this country. Why not in India? (Applause)

SIR THOMAS BENNETT said that since he started his career in Indian journalism in the year 1884 there had been enormous progress made, mainly since he left the country twenty years ago. Formerly the personal note was more unpleasantly heard in the English Press in India than it was to-day, and Eatonswill provided little in comparison with some of the polemics between Anglo Indian journalists which he remembered. Mr Cotes had spoken about introducing Indians into the English newspaper offices. He agreed with Mr Cotes, and while he (the speaker) would be the last to advocate in any large degree the Indianization of the English Press in India, he had always thought they had made a mistake in not availing themselves more largely than they had done of the collaboration of Indian writers. He had been one of the first to introduce an Indian among the staff of leader writers, twenty-five years ago, and he had never regretted it. There were many among the Indian community who wrote excellent English, particularly among the Madrasees, and newspapers could obtain direct knowledge of facts in regard to Indian life from them which probably an Englishman would be less able to give. The element of perspective and proportion should not be lost sight of in dealing with the question of the Indian Press. With regard to the remarks of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, anyone who did not know much about India, in listening to those otherwise apposite remarks would think that all the journalism of India was mischievous and dangerous, but that, of course,

was not so. They often saw in the Indian Press to-day very admirable sentiments. There were elements of good in Indian journalism, but it was still a long way short of arriving at a reasonably good idea of what journalism should be, it was not sufficiently informing, it was as a whole too exclusively given to political criticism and to intemperate attacks on the Government. The educative side of Indian journalism had yet to be brought out, and until that was done it would be very far short of what it ought to be. With regard to the relations between the Anglo-Indian Press and the Indian Press, the Anglo-Indian Press not only served the English and the European community but it could do enormous service in setting before Indian journalists examples of sober, reasonable, and informing criticism. To perform the true function of journalists Indian editors had to give much more information than they do, and to instruct as many as were within their reach of the 300,000,000 of the people of India. For this reason the relations with the Anglo-Indian Press and the native Press must be relations of mutual goodwill, and it was the duty of the Anglo-Indian Press to set an example of fairness and sympathy with the people around them, even though sometimes it might not be reciprocated. He believed that the Anglo-Indian Press had a mission of great importance before it under the new Constitutional conditions which prevailed in India. It was the mission of the Anglo-Indian Press to serve England and to serve India. There never had been greater opportunities for the Anglo-Indian Press than there were at the present time. So long as that Press could exercise a restraining and moderating and educative influence it would be doing enormous service to the Empire and to India. (Applause)

Sir PATRICK FAGAN said that he found considerable difficulty in understanding the remark which had been made that the Indian Government had systematically neglected to communicate information regarding official matters to the Press. In his own experience, which extended over thirty years, large masses of official reports and statistics were published at frequent intervals, and they gave ample information regarding the policy and activities of Government and of its departments. True it was that such information was not expressed in words or in ideas of one syllable, but demanded study and consideration from those who desired to criticize Government. The Indian-owned newspapers, however, for the most part persistently neglected such material, because their main object was the vilification of Government, the distortion of its motives and the fomenting of racial animosity and of racial feeling. To take such a subject as agriculture, for instance. Scarcely ever did one see any rational reference to agricultural improvement or development, and there were very few even educated Indians who appreciated the extent to which by Government influence agricultural progress had been fostered in India. Very notably was this the case with the great system of co-operative credit. With regard to the recent appointment of a Royal Commission on the Indian Services, there could be very little doubt in the public mind as to the reasons which were considered to render it necessary, for the questions with which it was to deal had been publicly discussed in India during the last three or four years, and indeed longer. He was therefore unable

to understand how Government had failed in its duty, as had been suggested by one speaker, in not publishing an official explanation of the step

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen,—I think we must thank Mr Cotes most cordially for the very interesting paper which he has given us, and the other speakers for the extremely interesting debate which has followed I do not feel that I am really qualified to offer any observations of my own, but I did happen ten years ago to spend four months in India, and some part of that time I devoted to attempting to inform myself about the Press of India, not so much the English Press, with which I had already some acquaintance, but the vernacular Press, which, owing to my ignorance of the languages, was more or less a closed book to me I remember that I got myself into some little trouble with Anglo-Indian journalists for my rashness in handling a subject on which I was very likely to be misled, and I well know the difficulties I am very glad to hear from Mr Cotes that there is a great change in the Indian Press, particularly in the matter of blackmail, which undoubtedly was practised by some of the less reputable Indian newspapers, and which the Indian journalists agreed with me was an offence which affected not only the individual who committed it, but the whole newspaper world The subject of good libel laws and good protection against the abuse of the Press is enormously important, not only to the Government, but to the Press itself Most of us in this country dislike the laws of libel, but we are convinced in our own minds that a good and strong law of libel is one of the secrets of an honest and decent Press. (Applause) I think the Indian Press could be greatly helped by friendly relations with their English colleagues, and I believe they are susceptible to influences wisely addressed to them from that quarter In my own experience they did what was extremely useful to me they arranged a series of conferences with various Indian writers, not merely journalists, but writers on a variety of subjects who were in the camp at the Delhi Durbar We discussed a great variety of subjects, and I was greatly indebted to them for helping me to get as much knowledge as I could in a short time of what was in their minds on social and religious questions I carried away with me a very vivid impression of their intelligence, and I cannot help thinking that more communications of this kind would be useful We also discussed many questions concerning the Indian Press, and I took the liberty of speaking very frankly to them upon some of the topics which have been raised here to-day As to the relations of the Government with the Indian Press, it seems to me to be immensely important that the Government should not get in the habit of regarding the Press as the enemy, because it dislikes the criticisms of some newspapers. If you regard the Press as an enemy and you do not take more pains to instruct and influence it than the mere publication of statistics and Blue books you will always be in trouble, and your trouble will increase as the Press gets more educated The Press is inevitable, it is there, and if you are going to work on anything like democratic lines the Press is part of your governing system Your Assembly and your elections are all nothing if there is not a Press of some

sort Without newspapers you are without eyes or ears or means of gathering information about the ideas which are prevalent in the country Without a Press you are worse off than with a very critical Press. Nobody can deny that in a country in which vast numbers of the people are in a comparatively primitive state the Government must have some control over the Press, yet the Government will be wise to let the vernacular Press have the utmost liberty compatible with public order in criticism of itself That seems to me to be extremely important, if only for the sake of keeping the Government informed of the views of the people If you abolish the expression of criticism you do not abolish the criticism, and you may have it in a much more dangerous and underground form I will not pursue these observations, which are only those of an observer from without, but I should like to tell Mr Cotes how greatly we have appreciated his paper and what a valuable contribution it is to this extremely interesting subject

Mr COTES thanked the meeting for the manner in which they had received his paper

On the motion of LORD LAMINGTON a hearty vote of thanks was by acclamation accorded to the Chairman and the Lecturer

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the Lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN LAND REVENUE

BY SIR PATRICK J FAGAN, K C L E , C S I

THE title of this paper is, perhaps, sufficiently suggestive of the speculative nature of the subject with which it attempts to deal. India in transition, political, economic, moral, social, is a trite commonplace of the thought of the day and yet to those who have some little knowledge of portions of the vast illiterate and inarticulate masses forming more than 90 per cent of the 320 millions who people the Indian continent, it is perhaps permissible to doubt whether material change in *their* outlook on life has really been so rapid and so far-reaching as is generally represented, whether their main concern is not still with the secure and continuous development of the more humble economic and social interests of their daily life and toil rather than with lofty political aspirations, whether they really appreciate disturbance, not to say upheaval of their "placid, pathetic contentment," to quote the words of a famous report. To the European political thinker, living in an environment of practically universal literacy, differentiation between a small educated minority and a vast surrounding illiterate mass is so strange as to be practically unrealizable, whereas in India such a differentiation stands out in naked reality, a factor of the utmost political importance. But it is at the same time undoubtedly true that strong currents of politico-racial and nascently nationalistic sentiment are flowing over the thin educated surface film of the Indian population, which, on the available figures for literacy, may be put at about six per cent of the whole. How long will it be before such currents have permeated the still comparatively tranquil, underlying masses, and what developments, at present unforeseen,

will the process involve? That in the main is, I suggest, the problem which faces those who are responsible for the welfare of India to-day. Under such conditions speculation is an inevitable element in dealing with any question which touches the future of India and of Indian administration. That, then, is my chief excuse for the nature of this attempt to deal with one such question. Another is that though speculation is a hazardous undertaking, exposing the author to drastic criticism, it at the same time suggests and fosters discussion.

The present land revenue of India has behind it a long historic past, stretching back in its germinal stages long beyond the commencement of our era, while it is inextricably interwoven with the growth and development of landed property rights in the Indian continent. With its history I propose to deal only in briefest detail, and only so far as is necessary for the proper subject of this paper. It is often thought to be a unique phenomenon of its kind, but that is very far from being the case, at any rate as regards its origin. It is only an instance of a practice, nearly universal in the primitive stages of political and economic development, by which the political ruler or chief of the tribe or of the primitive State claimed and received, in accordance with a recognized seigniorial right, a share of the produce of land from the actual cultivator, a share which constituted, probably, the main item on the receipt side of the ruler's combined private and State budget. In many, though not perhaps in all Western countries, the recognition of such a claim has tended in greater or less degree to lapse out of existence as the result of a variety of economic and political causes. But not so in India: there, it is broadly true to say, throughout the devious course, or rather courses of its history, the claim has never been foregone and never repudiated, whatever the vicissitudes of form which it has experienced or the accompanying, not to say bewildering varieties of land tenure to which it has given birth. Though in the course of

historical development it has been more or less transformed, the continuous existence and recognition of the claim can be traced throughout the history of most of the Indian continent. In short, the payment of land revenue to the State has been uniformly an incident and an obligation attaching to indigenous Indian recognition of permanent rights over land in favour of individuals and communities.

In the Hindu era the traditional, but by no means the invariable share of gross produce taken by the Raja or ruler was one-sixth. The Muhammadan conquerors maintained their predecessors' claim, and in order to render it more effective, developed and organized a definite land revenue system, with which, of course, the names of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, and of his famous Hindu Finance Minister, Raja Todar Mal, are intimately associated, and of which a full account is contained in the memoir known as the *Ain-i-Akbari*, written by Akbar's minister, Sheikh Abul-Fazl. The Muhammadan demand for land revenue, which was largely assessed in cash, was based on a third share of the gross produce as compared with the Hindu one-sixth, but it had reached an even higher standard in many places, if not generally, before the advent of the British. It was the Muhammadan system, or rather its decayed and disorganized remains, which the British took over at the commencement of their rule, on the assumption of the *Dewan* of Bengal, Bihâr and Orissa in 1765. It may, therefore, be said without exaggeration that it was Akbar's great land revenue settlement and his general revenue system which formed the foundation on which the corresponding institutions now existing have been built. The Indian land revenue, then, is no new creation of a "Satanic" alien government, but an ancient Indian institution inherited from previous generations of Indian rulers, a point which cannot be too clearly emphasized.

It would be impossible, and indeed irrelevant, in a paper

such as the present to sketch even briefly the development of the British-Indian system of land revenue administration, characterized as it is by wide local variations in the application of fundamental principles and in the nature of the land tenures which it affects and which are to a large extent its outcome. The main principles may be stated, perhaps not inaccurately nor inadequately, as follows

Firstly, the determination of rights in land, primarily the rights of those who are liable for the payment of the State's demands, and, as a necessary adjunct, the rights of those who hold subordinate but permanent or semi-permanent recognized interests in land

Secondly, the limitation of the State's demand for land revenue, this being secured by assessing it not as a share of the gross or total produce of land, as was generally the practice under the primitive indigenous system, but generally as a moderate share of the net rental as estimated on the data available. I need scarcely point out that the second principle, so far as it is observed—and fully observed it generally is—secures a subsistence, and in most cases a good deal more than a subsistence, for the actual cultivator and a substantial share of the rental for the land revenue payer, a state of things which was by no means assured under the indigenous system of a share of the gross produce for the State. It is this limitation of the State's demand, as introduced by the British Government, which has in fact given material reality and value to rights which previously under indigenous rule had often little more than a sentimental existence

The above fundamental principles were reached not at once, nor in any one particular locality, but in the course of some fifty years, as the result of laborious and extended investigation and of growing experience of novel conditions and of strange usages and customs, dissimilar to anything then actually existing in the native country of the new rulers. The latter for the most part wisely held their

hands before committing themselves irrevocably to definite systems. There was indeed one exception—the permanent settlement of Bengal, effected by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, under the orders of the Home authorities and in the teeth of experienced official opinion in India. It covered the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, as then existing, and was subsequently extended to portions of the Madras Presidency and to certain other tracts. Its characteristic features, of course, were the fixation of the State's land revenue demand in perpetuity and the definite conferment of proprietary rights on the *samundārs*, or ex-Mughal revenue contractors, in respect of the lands concerned, for the land revenue of which they became liable. Many years were to elapse before the subordinate rights of tenure holders in the permanently settled lands received attention. The merits and results of the Permanent Settlement have been the subject of prolonged discussion and of much more or less drastic criticism into which it is neither necessary nor possible for me to enter. So far, however, as these results have been evil, the responsibility rests on the Home authorities of the time, who, relying on *a priori* theories, disregarded the more cautious course advocated by officials in India who knew enough to know that there was much more to be known before coming to a definite decision on a vital point of administration. The main gravamen of the charge against the settlement has been, of course, that it has deprived the State of all participation in the greatly increased rental of land, which as long ago as 1871-72 was officially stated to be many times the amount of the permanently fixed land revenue. According to the official statistics of 1919-20 the total of that revenue in the provinces of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa, Agra and Oudh, and Madras stands at approximately 29 million pounds sterling. On the data available in the same statistics I calculate that, at the existing standards of the neighbouring temporarily settled tracts, the revenue of those permanently settled should be roughly 25 million pounds

sterling more than it is, a figure which, if correct, is some measure of the bounty which a minority of the landowners of India are enjoying as a result of the action of Lord Cornwallis

Let us turn now to a brief consideration of the position which land revenue receipts have occupied in the finances of India during the past half century. Variations in the sterling value of the rupee introduce inevitable complexity into any comparison of the past and present fiscal figures of India, but, allowing for this, those appended below (in round numbers) are perhaps sufficiently accurate for the purpose in view

Year	Total Income of the Indian Government	Land Revenue Receipts	Proportion of Land Revenue
	£ Millions	£ Millions	Per Cent
1871-1872	50 1	20 5	41
1881-1882	64 0	21 1	33
1891-1892	68 8	23 9	34 7
1901-1902	76 3	19 1	25
1911-1912	82 8	22 1	26 7
1919-1920	131 6	24 5	18 6

Fifty years ago land revenue was the backbone of Indian finance, the next largest items being opium, 9 million pounds, and salt, 6 million pounds. In 1919-20 land revenue receipts stood at 24 5 million pounds, the pound being taken at fifteen rupees instead of at ten as in 1871-72. Land revenue was still the largest head of income, but it was closely followed by net railway receipts with 21 3 million pounds, while we find also such comparatively high items as Income Tax, 15 4 million pounds, Customs, 15 million pounds, and Excise, 12 8 million pounds, figures not dreamt of by the Finance Minister of the seventies. The result is in accord with the well-recognized normal course of fiscal development, in which State income from State property, such as is the Indian land revenue, tends to decline, not necessarily in absolute amount, but in the proportion which it bears to income from taxation proper. Nevertheless land revenue still re-

mains an indispensable, though not the only buttress of the Indian fiscal system. It should be observed that since the introduction of the reformed Constitution in 1921 land revenue has become an entirely provincial head of receipt, and as the Indian provincial exchequers, under the fiscal arrangements which have been adopted, do not share in the important heads of Customs and income-tax, land revenue is at present and at any rate for a long time to come must, it would seem, continue to be the sheet anchor of their finances.

But, in truth, the ultimate future of the Indian land revenue has to be considered from a wider point of view, a point of view which embraces the future political development of India in its bearing, firstly, on the peace, security, and efficient government of the Indian continent, and, secondly, on the nature of the fiscal system which an Indian democracy, if and when it comes, will adopt, and of the distribution of fiscal burdens which it will seek to enforce. Here, indeed, it is that we enter the wide field of political and economic speculation. The avowed object of the reformed constitution, which has recently been introduced, is "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire." These few pregnant words, of which the meaning, the issues, and the outcome are to be revealed in the course of the next century, or perhaps still later, express what is probably the most momentous political enterprise to be found in human history. Never before, so far as I am aware, have the future political destinies of one-fifth of the human race been compressed into a formula so brief and yet so replete with enormous consequences. How far the words were the result of insight, of careful consideration of the issues involved in the light of available knowledge, of some clear vision of the political and social conditions which will constitute the future goal, it is not for me to venture to judge on the present occasion. Time, in due

course and in its own way, will doubtless give unanswerable replies to such questions. What I am concerned with is the fact that India has been definitely started on the path of democratic self-government of the responsible type. To consider whether the path is one along which it will be possible for her to proceed to its ultimate goal would be obviously beyond the scope of this paper. But, in view of recent events, this much may, I think, be said with confidence that the path will be neither smooth nor easy, nor progress either uniform or devoid of aberrations and retrogressions, more or less temporary though these may be. Assuming, however, future democratic development, a point which is fairly clear is this—that the 70 per cent of India's population which directly depends on agriculture for its daily bread must play an effective, not to say a predominant part in any Indian democratic system which is to lay claim to being a natural and healthy Indian development. It is scarcely conceivable that within any measurable interval of time the predominance of agriculture as the premier occupation of India can be threatened, much less vanish, in spite even of the fervour of those who seek in high protection a means towards the speedy and intense industrialization of India "by a rapid increase of machinery, factories, and great manufacturing cities," to quote from a recent paper read before this Association.

I am, therefore, perhaps not unduly rash in anticipating that in the increasingly democratic Indian political system of the future, as contemplated in the recently introduced constitution, with its representative bodies more and more closely, and, as it is hoped, more and more intelligently controlled by growing electorates, preponderantly agricultural and rural, questions relating to agriculture, land, land tenure, and the fiscal burdens attaching to them will in an increasing degree occupy the time and attention of the provincial Governments and Councils. I speak here not entirely without reference to facts, for before I left India last year, I had on several occasions opportunities of dis-

cussing such questions with agricultural members of one provincial Legislative Council and of taking part in more formal debates dealing with some of these questions in the same Council, and the experience thus obtained tends to confirm the views which I have suggested. Moreover, a recommendation made by the Joint Committee of Parliament, in their report on the recent Government of India Act, to the effect that the principles governing the Indian land revenue should be reduced to statutory form, so far as this has not already been done, will doubtless encourage the early ventilation of such questions. The reflective agriculturist land revenue payer, and of these there are not a few even now, aware that land revenue has in the past been the most evident and the most pervasive element in the fiscal demands of the State, is disposed to contend that the time has come for some redistribution of the burden in the direction of more adequate taxation of industrial, commercial and professional wealth, and while no doubt inclined to exaggerate the amount of such wealth, he has insisted, and I think rightly, that the pitch of income-tax, an impost which, of course, does not apply to agricultural incomes in India, has been unduly low, and that its assessment has been evaded to a substantial extent and without much difficulty by methods not uncommonly prevalent in Oriental countries, nor unknown elsewhere. Recent years have undoubtedly seen some alteration in this state of affairs. I have already indicated that income-tax has now become a substantial item in the annual receipts of the Indian Government. Let me quote definite figures. In 1909-10 the yield was 1 56 million pounds, while during the four years ending with 1919-20 it ascended steeply to 3 7 million pounds, 6 3 million pounds, 7 7 million pounds, and finally to 15 million pounds. Of the latter sum, however, some 11 million pounds were collected in the provinces of Bengal and Bombay alone, that is to say, mainly in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay, leaving only some 4 million pounds for the rest of India. There is then

some ground, whether justifiable or not, for the comparison which presents itself to the land revenue payer between land on the one hand, and trade and industry on the other, as contributors to the finances of the State

Pressure in the direction of relieving land of some part, at least, of its fiscal burden will, I anticipate, mainly take three directions

1 A reduction in the standard of land revenue assessment, that is to say, broadly speaking, in the share of net rental claimable by the State

2 An extension of the term, or period of temporary settlements

3 Limitation of the proportion of enhancement impossible at successive settlements I propose to say a few words on each of these points

The share of net rental claimed by the British Government has undergone successive reductions since the days of the permanent settlement of Bengal at the end of the eighteenth century It is not generally recognized, I think, that that settlement was, at the time when it was made, a very severe one if judged by modern standards, for the demand was considered as equivalent to ninety per cent of the net rental, a figure which would be regarded as preposterous at the present time In the settlements effected in the United Provinces between 1820 and 1840 the standard adopted was five-sixths, which was lowered to two-thirds in the latter year, and to one-half in 1855 In the Punjab since 1871 the standard has been one-half, and the same proportion applies to the Central Provinces and Madras and, I believe, to the greater part of Burma In practice the standard is treated as a maximum which may not be exceeded, and the actual assessments imposed are frequently, if not generally, well below it In the Punjab settlements, for instance, which have been carried out during the last ten years, the average proportion of the estimated net rental which has been actually taken has been about one-fourth in place of one-half The result has been

due to the practical impossibility of imposing the large enhancements of demand which, in consequence of the great increase in agricultural assets, due to higher prices and to expansion of the cultivated area, the application of the theoretical maximum standards to actual or estimated net rental would have yielded. The demand for a reduction of these standards has thus been already met in part, but in pursuing the subject the landed interests will, I have little doubt, lay stress on a comparison with the corresponding standards observed in the case of income-tax. Under the present Indian Income-Tax Act, annual incomes between Rs 2,000 and Rs 10,000, figures, of course, very far in excess of the annual incomes of the vast majority of Indian land revenue payers, are charged at rates between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 per cent, against which 25 or 30 per cent for land revenue in the case of net agricultural rental certainly looks large. The suggested argument is, of course, fallacious in that while emphasizing the superficial similarity between income-tax and land revenue in respect of their operation as charges on income, it disregards their otherwise essential dissimilarity in origin and nature. The former is a demand of the State in virtue of its general taxing power, the latter is far more in being an ancient seigniorial claim of the State, always recognized as a liability and an obligation attaching to rights in land throughout India. It is to be hoped that an attempted assimilation of land revenue and income-tax for fiscal purposes will be firmly resisted, both theoretically and practically. Assimilation would presumably involve, *inter alia*, the exemption, as in the case of income-tax, of agricultural incomes of less than Rs 2,000 per annum, a measure which would undoubtedly wipe by far the greater portion of the Indian land revenue out of existence altogether. In the Punjab, and I believe also in the United Provinces, a reduction of the maximal standard from 50 to 33 per cent of the net rental has been suggested by the landed interests in the course of discussions which have already taken place, but, as I have already indicated,

the latter figure is itself in excess of the share of rental which has actually been realized in recent settlements in the former province. The practical results of the suggested reduction are, therefore, not likely to make themselves felt for some time, but pressure in the direction of further reductions in the future will no doubt continue, so that it is possible that in time a proportion as low as 20 per cent or less may be demanded.

It is, however, for the extension of the term of temporary settlements that pressure will probably be greatest. At present the normal term is thirty years over the greater part of British India, though under special circumstances shorter terms, generally not less than twenty years, are fixed. It is, I think, likely that the landed interests will demand an extension of the term to fifty years at least, while the substitution of permanent for temporary settlements will probably be broached, if indeed, not urged. As regards portions of India outside those which have been under a permanent settlement since the end of the eighteenth century, such a substitution was definitely negatived by the Secretary of State in 1882 after many years of discussion, but there is apparently nothing to prevent the question being reopened in the future in the Indian Legislative Councils, in the direction of extending the area of permanent settlement, or of revising arrangements in those to which it applies at present so as to bring them into line with the rest of the country, and thus remove the differentiation which has long existed in favour of the landed proprietors of Bengal and Bihār and of portions of Madras and the United Provinces. It is, however, unlikely that so large and so contentious an issue as the latter will be raised for many years to come, if at all. A conceivable alternative to the wider introduction of a permanent settlement is the redemption of annual land revenue by the payment of its capitalized amount. It is, I think, not improbable that schemes for the gradual adoption of such a measure will be put forward, and possibly find favour, in

the future in the provincial legislatures as a means of raising capital for productive works. Indeed, before I left India I saw one such tentative scheme framed by a well-known Hindu gentleman who, among other things, has been a highly successful agriculturist. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of such schemes, one chief difficulty will be to fix terms for redemption which shall be at once fair to the State as well as sufficiently attractive to the land revenue payer.

The ostensible reasons generally urged for the extension of the term of temporary settlements are firstly, an alleged discouragement to the making of permanent agricultural improvements, arising from the liability of the assets created by them to an early assessment to land revenue, and, secondly, the harassment caused to the rural public by settlement operations. The first reason has little or no foundation in fact, since improvements of the kind involved are expressly exempted from any enhanced assessment, in Madras and Bombay for ever, and in other parts of India for a period, irrespective of the term of settlement, sufficient for the capital sunk to be fully recouped from the additional assets created. As regards the second reason, improved executive and administrative machinery for the rapid prosecution of settlement operations has largely reduced, if not removed, a grievance which is, of course, of the kind which must, all the world over, more or less inevitably attend the assessment and realization of State income. An extension of term will, it is obvious, *pro tanto* deprive the State of its claim, based on immemorial usage, to a share in that unearned increment of agricultural land which must inevitably accompany economic development, and thus exclude it from the fiscal support derivable from the growth of a steadily, if comparatively slowly, expanding source of income. On such a view fifty years seems to be too long a term, having regard to the inevitable future fiscal needs of the Indian provinces, and to the depletion which the finances of several of them

show even now within a short period of the introduction of the new constitution. The whole question will constitute one of the many tests which India's hoped-for democracy will have to face in the course of its arduous journey to the goal which has been set before it.

As regards the proportion of enhancement of demand which may be imposed at the termination of the period of a temporary settlement, certain restrictions are already observed in some provinces. They usually take the form of limiting immediate increase of demand to a fixed proportion, generally 33 per cent (in one case 25 per cent), and postponing the imposition of any further increase, considered to be claimable, for terms of five or ten years from the date of the commencement of the new settlement, the object being to secure the gradual, as opposed to the sudden realization of large enhancements of revenue to which the State may be found to be entitled. As a matter of fact enhancement over a considerable tract of country nowadays seldom exceeds 33 per cent by much, if at all, except in regions which have undergone rapid and extensive development through the introduction of canal irrigation. Efforts will doubtless be made sooner or later to secure further and more drastic limitation.

During the last fifty years the Indian land revenue, reckoned in rupees, has increased by a proportion which lies in the neighbourhood of 80 per cent, but it is fairly evident that the combined result of the lines of pressure which I have indicated above will, in so far as they may be successful, tend to deprive it of such elements of expansibility as it still possesses. The effect of this will fall primarily and directly on the finances of the provincial governments, in which, as I have already observed, land revenue, under the new constitution, is the chief item of receipt, and the only one, except perhaps Excise, capable of a steady, if slow, expansion which can be forecasted. The effect will, of course, be accentuated if, as is conceivable, the landed interests should go so far as to press not

merely for a drastic limitation of the future growth of fiscal receipts from land, but for their actual reduction. The immediate present, indeed, is the day of retrenchment, not only in England, but in India also. If India, however, is to make moral and material progress under the new political and administrative system, growth in the expenditure of the State must, in accordance with a universally prevailing principle, be inevitable, and a corresponding expansion of income equally so. Whence are the provincial Governments to secure it if a main source of expansion is to be blocked ?

The fiscal problem is one which will demand, is, indeed, even now demanding, from the provincial Councils intelligence, self-restraint, and a sense of public responsibility. How far the demand is being met I do not propose to consider, but that met it will have to be is clear beyond dispute. It is by no means unlikely that in the course of future debate and discussion the whole theory of the Indian land revenue will be attacked, and the validity, under modern conditions, of the seigniorial claim of the State disputed. Assume—and I trust that it is a very large assumption—that such contentions were accepted, what would be the result ? The ancient land revenue of India, as such, would presumably disappear. How then would the yawning gap of some 25 million pounds in the annual provincial finances be filled ? The only possible methods would be either, firstly, the taxation of the unearned increment from land, in accordance with the ideals of some modern economists, and of others, and that probably at a considerably higher standard than is applied to rental at present for the purposes of land revenue, or, secondly, the imposition of an income-tax on all agricultural incomes, on that of the landed proprietor as well as on that of his tenants, who at present, of course, do not pay land revenue to the State. Such an income-tax would have to include within its scope incomes far below the present limit of exemption, which is Rs 2,000 per annum. In short, income-tax on the lines of

the British Schedules A and B would be introduced for agricultural land throughout India. Either of these measures might fill the gap, but the complexities of assessment and collection would be enormously greater than at present, while, looking at the comparatively easy operation of the present system, it is difficult to contemplate with equanimity the volume of popular discontent which would be aroused.

Given, therefore, a democracy of reasonable intelligence, effectively controlling its representatives in the Councils—I do not attempt to estimate the extent of the assumption—anything like a complete abolition of the land revenue in India is not, I think, to be seriously apprehended. Its continuous growth, however, will very probably be checked in the more or less distant future, perhaps almost to the point of extinction. It will then be for the provincial Governments and for the popular Councils, which will control them, to devise measures for meeting the growing cost of administration, for grow it must, even though the axe of retrenchment be periodically applied. What those measures will be I will not venture to prophesy. But in this connection it is to be observed that the main sources of income in which comparatively rapid expansion may be anticipated, such as Customs, Income-Tax, Railways, fall to the Central Government under present arrangements. It seems highly probable, therefore, that some readjustment in this respect between it and the provincial Governments will, sooner or later, become inevitable.

Finance is one of the perilous rocks which threaten the bark of Indian democracy in its voyage to the Land of Promise, and, in its dealing with Finance, the treatment of land revenue will demand foresight, courage, and self-restraint.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, May 28, 1923, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Sir Patrick J Fagan, K C I E, C S I, entitled, "The Future of the Indian Land Revenue" Sir William H Vincent, K C S I, was in the chair

The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present The Right Hon Lord Pentland, G C S I, G C I E, Sir Mancherjee M Bhow naggree, K C I E, Sir Frederick Nicholson, K C I E, Sir John G Cumming, K C I E, C S I, Sir Charles Mules, C S I, Sir Duncan J Macpherson, C I E, Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Robert Fulton, Lady Fagan, Mr F H Brown, C I E, Mr F W Woods, C I E, Mr E R Abbott, C I E, Mrs Anstey, B S C, Mr W Coldstream, K I H, Miss Scatcherd, Mr J B Pennington, Mrs Drury, Mr F J P Richter, Mr O N Ahmad, Mr F S Tabor, Colonel F S Terry, Colonel and Mrs A S Roberts, Mr G M Ryan, Mr H R H Wilkinson, Miss Nina Corner, Mr F W Brownrigg, Miss Partridge, Mrs Martley, Mr F C Channing, Mr F Grubb, and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen,—I have been asked to introduce to you Sir Patrick Fagan, who will address you on "The Future of the Indian Land Revenue" I may say that I know of few people more competent to speak on this subject than Sir Patrick He has had a long and distinguished career in the Punjab, a province famous for its land revenue administration, and he is a man known in the province for his capacity and sound judgment I myself can speak with some knowledge of this, having had the good fortune to work with him on many occasions, he has, I may add, devoted much of his life to a careful study of the subject on which he will lecture to-day I will not waste any more of your time, but will ask him to commence his lecture (Applause)

The paper was then read

The CHAIRMAN announced that the meeting was now open for discussion, and he would first of all ask Miss Scatcherd to read a communication which had been received from Dr Pollen, their late Secretary

Miss SCATCHERD said that Dr Pollen had written his usual letter with regard to the paper, but as time was short she would only read one or two extracts from it They were as follows

"In India pre eminently the tenure of land was originally a simple tribal one The patch was cleared by the individual family, and the tribal chief or herdman, or godhead (if any), was given a share of the produce (if produce arose) Landlordism, in those days, there was none! All land belonged to the tribe and was the common property of all, and the common sense of the East and of India early invented a simple quit-rent, or crop-share, to be paid by the successful cultivator This he always

paid, if he could! India happily escaped the evils of feudalism, and I agree with the lecturer that the common sense of the Indian Democracy (which in my opinion in all land matters is vastly superior to that of the Anglo Saxon) will never abandon or give up its Indian Land Revenue, which is the chief and simplest source of its income

"The fact is, Indians long ago recognized the palpable truth which is only just now beginning to be learnt by the West—viz, that land has *no intrinsic value* of its own! It cannot be eaten, nor can it, like gold, be hidden, buried, or carried away. Bad land, incapable of crops, here in the middle of London, may command millions, while millions of acres of the most fertile land in India may be described as absolutely valueless, and is abandoned to jungle. It is *the people round it* who make land valuable, and the first step in all agricultural development is to encourage and protect the cultivator, and this the Indian Village System certainly did, and now no Indian cultivator seriously objects to pay the quit rent required by the State, provided the percentage of the crop is kept fair and low. The cultivator understands quite well that the so called 'rent' or land tax is not in any way like the Income Tax or any other impost imposed by the whim of the State, but a very old tribal customary claim or cess which accompanies the right to cultivate and entitles the cultivator to certain privileges. It is a common mistake to confuse the Indian Land Revenue demand with the tax arbitrarily imposed here in England under our landlord and lawyer-made law! The Indian Land Revenue demand is not the queer thing called in the West 'rent,' the original cause of all the murder and agrarian outrages in Ireland! How the tenants in Great Britain would rejoice if they were only called upon to pay the small Indian Government demand instead of the heavy rents they now pay their so called landlords!

"Let us hope that the ancient equitable and democratic Land Revenue System of India may not be wantonly touched or foolishly overset by the new Legislative Councils. There is nothing now to prevent the Indian tenant or occupier from improving his property or holding, for I remember, even in my time, 'the Tyrone or Ulster Tenant-right' was recognized at any rate in Bombay and Madras! Under it all improvements become the property of the occupant and constitute his working capital and the security for his skill and ability.

"Thirty years is quite long enough for any settlement. But increases in demand should be gradual and always limited to, say, 25 or 30 per cent. To make any settlement permanent would be sheer absurdity and contrary to all native sentiment.

"In supporting Sir Patrick Fagan I now say. Let the new Legislatures continue (or revive) the old native Government taxation if they would avoid being dashed on the rocks of financial disaster in their voyage to the land of promise!"

Mr CHANNING said that he agreed generally with Sir Patrick, whose experience had been much on the same lines as his own. Any scheme of redemption of land tax must be based, he thought, on a permanent assessment of the tax. It was so in England, where the land tax was fixed in

perpetuity on the separate parishes in 1798. Since then about half the land tax had been redeemed, and that fact made it difficult to reform the taxation on land. All stereotyped valuations soon became unequal, so that the taxpayers no longer contributed in accordance with their means. If the permanent settlement were now extended to the whole of India the existing inequalities would not disappear, as the incidence of land revenue was so different in the areas now under permanent and in those under temporary settlement. As to what the future may be, he was not a prophet, but apparently under any real system of self-government the agricultural interest will be dominant, and whether the results will be to the liking of the commercial and professional classes time will show.

Mr F W Woods said he thought the lecturer had dealt with the subject in too narrow a spirit, he seemed to regard taxation as something beneficial in itself, and that the material progress of the country would advance in proportion to its taxation. He drew a distinction between land revenue and income tax. He said in his paper "Income tax is a demand of the State in virtue of its general taxing power, the latter is far more in being an ancient seigniorial claim of the State, always recognized as a liability and an obligation attaching to rights in land throughout India." It seemed to him that was a distinction rather than a difference, a matter of words. It was said that they had taken over the system of land revenue from the old Mogul rulers, but there were many of the old practices of the ancient rulers they had decided not to continue, and it was quite reasonable to reconsider the land revenue system on its merits. The lecturer had told them that originally land taxation in Bengal was fixed at 90 per cent of the net rental, later being reduced to five sixths, afterwards to two-thirds, and then to a half, and in the Punjab recently to about a quarter. This all went to show that at the time of each such reduction it was recognized that the taxation had been too high, and that it was desirable to lower it. A continuation of the process of reduction might bring it down to the level of the income tax, or the income tax might be scaled up to the level of the land tax.

He did not see that there was any distinction in the matter of immemorial usage between land taxation and any other form of taxation, all taxation was of immemorial usage, whether it was a hut tax or a poll tax, or any other kind of tax. It was only a question of administrative procedure in what form taxation should be levied. The lecturer showed statistics of land revenue receipts for the last fifty years, but his figures obscured matters through being expressed in terms of sterling instead of in rupees. The figures in sterling implied that the land revenue remained almost stationary, although in terms of rupees the revenue yield had been nearly doubled. It stood to reason that with the development of railways, customs, and so on, that the land revenue receipts bulked not so largely, in comparison with the total revenue, as it used to, but it was still an expanding source of taxation.

One fact, of course, was obvious, and that was that the Government must have taxes in order to carry on, but it need not necessarily lean so heavily on land taxation, it was entirely a matter of procedure based on

State policy Curtailment of expenditure was a sound alternative to heavy taxation, since ample revenues were apt to encourage bureaucratic extravagance. The lecturer finished off by saying he wanted to know what would take the place of the land revenue if land revenue were to disappear? He had himself acknowledged that income tax could take its place simply as a matter of procedure. The rest was a question of policy.

He agreed with the lecturer that sound finance was the essence of the foundation of all government, and that the treatment of land revenue questions would demand foresight and self-restraint, as to "courage," of course they would have to distinguish between courage and rashness. It was more essential that there should be self-restraint and foresight. (Hear, hear.)

SIR CHARLES MILES said he presumed there can never be any question of extending the area under permanent settlement so long as a sane and reasonable Government exists in India and this country. That settlement, a folly the offspring of ignorance and incompetence, has been completely discredited, and no revenue officer could be found to defend it. He had himself been one for some thirty-five years. But though Government is now, as all Indian Governments have been from time immemorial, the owner of the land, all who had passed their lives amongst the people of India felt how important it was to protect the interest of the agricultural classes in every possible way. There had been in the past a tendency on the part of those in authority at the top of the tree to make the period of settlements too short, in his part of India they had had to suffer under ten years' settlements, and he had frequently urged that they should be for not less than thirty years as a minimum, it was not fair to the cultivating classes that they should at comparatively short intervals be subject to scrutiny and possible increases. He thought, speaking generally, that thirty years was a fair term. Where great irrigation projects were being carried out, of course Government might say: If we have more than a short term the cultivator will reap the benefit. Why should not he reap the benefit? He laboured under the most terrible disadvantages, the seasons were never to be relied upon. He suffered from droughts and floods, locusts and rats, blight, the ravages of wild animals, and many other troubles, therefore, if there was any little benefit to be obtained, by all means let him have it. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately of late the agricultural classes had been undergoing a period of great ferment. They were most contented in the good old days, but, as an example of the mischievous agitation of recent years, since he had left India, from one of the richest and most prosperous parts of the Province in which he served, owing to the machinations of the notorious Moslem Ali brothers, the Hindu Gandhi, and their partisans, many thousands had suddenly and causelessly fled into tribal country and Afghanistan, where numbers had met with a most miserable fate. In the old days the rural classes, zemindars, peasant farmers, and labourers, looked upon their district officers as men who would and could protect their interests as, to use their own expression, their father and mother. Now all was changed. But difficult as the position of the present day

district officers is, they are still doing their utmost to keep the old spirit of loyalty alive, and one of the most important means to that end assuredly is to charge the agricultural classes moderate rentals and in renewing settlements to grant them a good long fixity of tenure (Hear, hear, and applause)

Mr PENNINGTON said he would like to ask one question, and that was as to the position of the cultivator. The lecturer had said that the actual cultivator was protected against all increase, but he did not see how he was protected at all, at any rate he never was in his time.

Mr COLDSTREAM said that he would have liked the lecturer to have given a little more detail in his statement regarding the actual practice of assessment of land revenue. Sir Patrick was very well qualified, from his long experience and his great sympathy with the people, to tell them a good deal as to how the system worked, and how it was adjusted with reference to the seasons and the various calamities of nature which may affect the income of the cultivator. In his opinion, as the result of considerable experience in India, he felt that the present Government viewed the cultivator with great sympathy, and the system which had been elaborated during the past sixty or eighty years in North India met the case entirely, it was a system on which much care had been expended. He thought that anything like complete abolition of the land revenue would never come to pass. It was important that they should bear in mind that the assessment of land revenue was one of the sources of income to which the Indian people had been accustomed for ages past, and they should take great care that the idea that the State had a claim on the share of the produce should be maintained, and not allowed to slide, though it should be adjusted with the greatest care and consideration (Hear, hear)

Mr ABBOTT said there was a matter he would like to draw their attention to, and that was that between the land revenue in India and taxation there was a very great difference, which Mr Woods apparently had not recognized. He had never come across anybody who clamoured to pay taxes, but it was not an uncommon experience in India to find people coming forward and clamouring to pay land revenue. That was an extraordinary thing, and distinguished the payment of land revenue from the payment of ordinary taxes. As a Collector he had men, widows, and even children battering at his door to accept the payment of land revenue due on a disputed holding. The point was that the payment of land revenue was the outward and visible sign of an inward right, that was to say, the payment of land revenue in the eyes of the zemindar was a sign of his right in the land which he cultivated (hear, hear), and even if the entry in the records were destroyed or lost, the fact that he had been seen to give his contribution to the quota collected could be vouched for by everybody, and as an outward sign of his title to the land. In considering the future of land revenue in India, therefore, they had to take cognizance of the fact that the zemindar himself insisted upon paying it, he might object to paying the amount claimed, but that he should pay land revenue was a cardinal point in his village polity. In considering the future of

land revenue they must also recognize that there was a very large rural zemindar majority in the Councils. No doubt, within the necessities of balancing the Budget, there was a tendency to reduce the percentage of profit which the Government claimed as its due, and also to increase the length of the term for which assessments took effect. He himself was strongly in favour of those two tendencies (Hear, hear). He had recently had occasion to advise on the system of land revenue imposed by one of the great feudatory states of India, and he was astounded to see the great progress the British Government had made in the leniency of its assessments as compared with the Government of that particular state. The percentage which the Governments in Northern India took from the zemindar was now much less than when he first went to India. The 33 per cent which it was now proposed to make the legal maximum in place of 50 per cent of the rental, the present maximum, if adopted, would not in practice make any great immediate change in the amount of land revenue collected, but it would be a starting point from which further leniency might be expected. He was strongly in favour of every effort being made towards greater leniency within the possibilities imposed by the financial obligation of paying one's way (Hear, hear).

Mr RICE said that he had listened in vain for any constructive criticism of the title of the paper, but it seemed to be the assumption generally that land revenue itself was essential to India, and most of the discussion had been devoted to showing not only that land revenue was essential, but in what direction it could be improved, and as to how great a blessing it had proved in the past. Mr Woods had made the pregnant suggestion. Why have land revenue at all?

Mr WOODS No, I said there must be taxation, but that it need not necessarily come from the land.

Mr RICE said they ought to look at the subject from the objective point of view of what was likely to happen. It was said that land revenue was immemorial, and that they had only improved upon it. There had been a great many other changes in India. While the India of thirty or fifty years ago was very much on the old lines adopted by the ancient rulers, nowadays India was changing rapidly, and there was a considerable clamour for alteration in the executive machinery, and it was quite possible that an entirely new democratic Government in India might begin to question whether the system of land revenue was the best thing for India. If they could abolish land revenue, it would be a good thing for the agricultural population. He did not say land revenue was a good thing or a bad thing, but in the future it was quite possible a democratic Government might prefer to raise the revenue in many other ways, it was not at all beyond practical politics that the whole question of land revenue in the future might be discussed, and other means found for supplying the money.

Mr F S TABOR said that with regard to the point which had been mentioned as to why there should be land revenue at all, if they looked at the question as it stood they had in India landlords who owned the land

and revenue, they had either inherited it or bought it, and they knew it was subject to land revenue when they bought it. The land revenue in India varied according to the assets, and if land revenue should be abolished it would simply be making a free gift to those owners of land, just the same as if they were to abolish the tithes in this country. He himself lived in a district where the tithe was higher per acre than the land revenue was in India. They might say: Why not abolish that? If they did, that would be a free gift to the owners of the land, and there was no reason at all why that should be done, any more than they should abolish land revenue in India.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it seems to me that there is really very little difference of opinion, save perhaps on the part of one or two members of the audience, on the question whether land revenue is a fair form of taxation in India, or a sound method of securing revenue for the Government, there may be differences as to the amount, and as to the period of each settlement, but the general consensus of opinion is, I think, strongly in favour of the view that land revenue is *per se* not an objectionable levy, and I venture to suggest that there is a great deal to be said in support of that position. One great merit the land revenue system has is its antiquity, for men bear more readily a form of taxation to which they have long been accustomed. Further, as was pointed out, suddenly to abolish land revenue now would be merely to benefit one particular class consisting largely of people who have no claim to hold the land free of assessment. I do not myself believe also that if you were to free the land from all payment of land revenue to-morrow you would benefit the position of the actual cultivator in the future—say five or ten years hence—in the least. There is nothing in our experience to support such a contention, apart from all this also I suggest that the abolition of land revenue as a source of income is not a practical proposition at present. I have never heard of this being suggested in India, nor would it be possible to substitute for land revenue any demand in the nature of income tax under present conditions. I do not think that anyone with recent experience of administration in India would regard that as a feasible proposition.

There are one or two points in the address on the future of land revenue to which I should like to draw attention. The lecturer said, for instance: "70 per cent of India's population which directly depends on agriculture for its daily bread must play an effective, not to say a predominant, part in any Indian democratic system." Now, if members have examined the composition of the new Councils they will see that every effort that is possible has been made to secure rural representation, and, in fact, in the Provincial Councils rural representatives command a large majority. In the United Provinces Council during the last year the landlord interest was able to oppose successfully efforts made on one occasion by a Minister of the Government, and on another occasion by a member, to alter the law affecting the position of landholders to their disadvantage.

Similarly, if you take the Punjab—I hesitate to say that the figures I put before you are definitely correct—but I think there are about forty-five landlords, or persons connected with agriculture, out of about sixty in the local Council. In the Legislative Assembly there are twenty-five landlords

besides lawyers interested in land. Seats have been reserved for landlords in all Councils, and in addition to that they secured more seats through the ordinary rural electorate. In fact, the ryot looks on the landlord as his supporter and as one of the best representatives he can get *vis-à-vis* urban members.

I should like also to answer a question a lady asked about agricultural agitation in India, undoubtedly there has been a great deal of such unrest in recent years. For instance, in certain districts of Oudh last year there was agitation of a dangerous character, and, even if promoted by political agitators, it was carried on by the rural population against the landlords of Oudh, who are more in the position of feudal landlords than zemindars elsewhere, in that they claim greater privileges than ordinary landlords. Similarly, in other parts—e.g. in Behar and Chota Nagpore—there have been from time to time outbreaks of agrarian disorder, the tenants in some cases claiming the lands as their own property. Another question discussed was the probability of a reversion to the permanent settlement. One speaker suggested this was not a real danger as long as there was a sane Government in India or at home. I cannot answer for the sanity of the Government, but I may say that there are no indications of the insanity taking that particular form, nor is it likely it will. The rural interests are very largely represented in Councils, but the landlords know very well that directly the idea is started that no increase in revenue is payable it is a very short step to saying that no increase in rent is payable, and he is not in the least likely to support such a proposal. No doubt landlords might almost support permanent settlement, but I think the tendency in the country is rather the other way, and to say where there is permanent settlement that it should be done away with for the benefit of the State. The landlords in Bengal certainly have been apprehensive of this, and are anxious to know how far the covenants entered into will be observed and are binding on their successors. In fact, however, the benefits of a permanent settlement to the actual cultivator are very doubtful. If you read the Land Revenue Resolution published by Lord Curzon's Government, you will find that whereas in Bengal the State realized about four crores in land revenue, the actual assessments on the tenants was something like sixteen crores, and that the tenants pay far more than they pay in other Provinces. My personal experience in one or two districts confirms this view.

As one speaker remarked, rents in Bengal are amazingly high, and it was this that was one of the reasons for the Bengal Rent Commission in 1879. One remark more and I have done. The lecturer at the end of his paper said "Given, therefore, a democracy of reasonable intelligence," and I want to warn the audience that in my judgment it will be a long time before you have a real democracy of any kind in India. A transfer of power at the present moment would certainly not be the transfer of power to a democratic Government, but a transfer from one oligarchy to another (Hear, hear.)

LORD PENTLAND, in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, said they would like to record their grateful

thanks to Sir Patrick for his remarkably interesting paper, and the judicious examination of the whole subject of land revenue, and their gratitude was increased by having Sir William Vincent in the chair. He had only recently returned from the closest touch with affairs in India, and they were delighted to see him looking so well. (Hear, hear, and applause)

The LECTURER, in reply, said there was only one point he would like to refer to, and that was Mr Woods's remark that the lecturer appeared to be a person who regarded taxation as a blessing in itself. He would like, however, to assure him that as an Irishman—and one smarting under a 5s or a 4s 6d income tax—he was very far from entertaining any such idea. If he might say so, with well-simulated indignation, he desired to repudiate the suggestion *in toto*.

In conclusion, he would like to thank them all for the very kind way in which they had referred to his paper, it had been sufficiently long, and if he had dealt with the subject in more detail, as had been suggested, he would probably have had to detain them beyond the limits of their patience. (Hear, hear)

The proceedings then terminated

COMMERCIAL SECTION

INDIAN PORTS

BY SIR GEORGE BUCHANAN, K C I E

INDIA has a coast-line of over 4,500 miles, an area of over 1,800,000 square miles, and a population of 350,000,000, but chiefly due to physical conditions she has only five ports of any magnitude, Karachi and Bombay on the west coast, Madras and Calcutta on the east coast, and Rangoon for the Province of Burma

It is believed that a brief review of the financial status and development of these ports since the war may be of interest, as although they differ considerably in the nature of their trade and facilities provided for its accommodation, there is sufficient similarity to warrant a comparison on broad lines

The ports are, for example, chiefly terminals, as distinct from ports of call, such as Colombo, Hong Kong, and Singapore, and therefore the tonnage of shipping entering the ports is a fair indication of their actual sea-borne trade. They are also all worked under the general control of the Government, and their statutory constitutions and powers are similar

There is, however, one difference between the ports of Bombay and Karachi on the west, and the ports of Calcutta and Rangoon on the east, inasmuch as the former are seaports proper, whilst the latter, being situated on the banks of rivers at a considerable distance from the sea, are committed to a considerable annual expenditure in lighting, buoys, surveying, river conservancy, and river pilotage

In the year 1921-22 these five ports had an aggregate gross revenue of 597 55 lakhs of rupees, and expenditure of 750 lakhs of rupees, and a capital debt of 3,780 lakhs

of rupees , the registered tonnage of shipping entering the ports was 14,300,000, and during the year 17,268,979 tons of goods were handled

India is primarily an agricultural and mineral country, exporting her produce in return for manufactured goods, but industries of all kinds are rapidly developing, and each year India becomes more self-supporting , cotton and jute mills are numerous, and the iron and steel works of Bihar and Orissa are the largest outside Europe and America

The principal imports consist of building materials, iron, and steel, hardware, piece-goods, clothing, machinery, food-stuffs, and sugar

The exports comprise cotton and cotton goods, wheat, rice, and other grain, seeds, jute and jute goods, tea, hides and skins, kerosene oil, coal, manganese ore, and lead

Bombay is the principal port of shipment for cotton and cotton goods and manganese ore , Calcutta for jute and jute goods, tea, coal, and seeds , Rangoon for rice and rice products, timber, kerosene oil, and lead , Karachi for wheat

The grain is bagged, there being no grain elevators in India, although their installation at Karachi, which is the great port of shipment for the Punjab, has been under consideration for many years

The system of port administration in India is by means of self-contained, self-supporting Port Trusts, the members of which are in part elected by public bodies and in part nominated by Government The Trusts are subject to the control of Government, especially in regard to finance, and all revenue-producing works have to be shown to be self-supporting in the near future and economically essential to the welfare of the port and the community before they are sanctioned, whilst in the case of non-revenue-producing works the Port Authority has to prove its capacity to pay interest and sinking fund on loans raised for their execution

Proposals have recently been made to co-ordinate railways and ports by placing them under one control, and the

committee appointed in November, 1920, by the Secretary of State for India to enquire into the working and administration of Indian railways made the following remarks

" We recommend that there be a Member of Council in charge of communications, whose portfolio should comprise railways, ports, and inland navigation, road transport (so far as it is under the control of the Government of India), and posts and telegraphs. Perhaps in making this recommendation we are going beyond the strict terms of our reference, which is concerned only with railways, but the connection of railways with other forms of communication is so close that we think we are entitled to make it

" The advantages of a close relationship between railways, ports, water transport, and road transport are obvious. They need correlation by a common controlling authority, they are feeders to each other, but at the same time their conflicting interests as carriers necessitate expert supervision and protection, all methods of transport are necessary for the development of India, and all new schemes, whether for transport by rail, road, or water, require to be considered by the same authority as a part of a well-ordered general programme. Only imperial questions connected with road transport would, under our scheme, come under the immediate supervision of the Ministry, local road questions being left, as now, to local authorities

" The only connection at present even between the railways and the ports which they serve is through the Member of Council, who is common to both. The Departments that deal with them are separate. And in many respects the ports are subject not to the Central Government at all, but to local governments

" All the witnesses whom we examined on this point agreed that there were strong reasons for a change. One instance will suffice. The Calcutta Port Authority are undertaking the enlargement and re-equipment of their Kidderpur docks to accommodate the rapidly growing traffic. They have in contemplation a large scheme involving the expenditure of many millions. They are also adding to the accommodation of their port railways. The lay-out of the docks cannot be settled till it has been decided how much of the necessary siding accommodation is to be provided respectively by the railways on railway property and by the Port Authority on dock property. The Port Authority cannot be certain what coal-tipping appliances to order till it is settled what form of coal wagons

the railways will use. The railways, on the other hand, cannot be certain that the appliances will be suitable for their wagons. There is no machinery for bringing together the various parties in interest, still less for deciding when the parties differ. The Department of Commerce, the Railway Department, two railway companies, the Calcutta Port Authority, and the Government of Bengal, all are involved and take a hand in the decision.

"The necessity for close co-ordination so as to dovetail together the work of the docks and the railways that serve them has long been recognized in England. In recent years—not without hesitation as to the propriety of strengthening railway monopoly—Parliament has allowed railway companies, in order that the two services might be in one hand, to acquire the docks in the first-class ports of Southampton and Hull. Still more recently private arrangements have secured the same result in the great port of Cardiff. And the Ministry of Transport Act, 1919, gives the Minister considerable powers to co-ordinate the facilities and methods of working between railways and such dock undertakings as are still independent."

Up to the present no effect has been given to the committee's recommendations, and the report is still "under consideration."

The Indian ports derive their chief revenues from dues on vessels and rates on goods, the proportion being approximately in the ratio of one-third vessels to two-thirds goods, and the rule, originally promulgated in the report of the Royal Commission on the Port of London, to the effect that everything which uses a port should contribute to its working and maintenance, is generally followed.

A considerable revenue is also derived from rents on lands, warehouses, and other buildings, on the port estate, this being usually a constant number which affords a useful reserve in case of fluctuations of annual receipts from other sources.

The ports are not intended to make a profit on their year's work, but are supposed to pay interest and sinking fund on loans raised, maintenance charges, working expenses, and general charges, whilst in the case of non-

revenue-producing works, such as breakwaters, river training works, etc., funds are raised by means of special dues on both vessels and goods, or occasionally by a Government grant in aid

Bombay and Calcutta have their own harbour railways encircling the port and worked by the Port Authority, and railway companies or State railways, as the case may be, hand over the wagons at a certain point. Other ports have their own railways worked under an agreement by the railway companies. Calcutta and Rangoon have also the advantage of extensive water transport systems to the interior in addition to railways.

In one important respect Indian ports differ from home ports inasmuch as there is in India practically no competition for the trade which flows naturally to the one and only coast terminal serving a particular area, whilst in the home ports trade has sometimes half a dozen alternatives in the way of ports, and is able to pick and choose.

Calcutta, for instance, which is the natural and at present only outlet for the rich and densely populated valley of the Ganges, cannot help being a large port, and prospers, one might say, in spite of itself, because the history of port development in the past is not one of which Calcutta can be proud.

In the matter of accommodation and facilities, Indian ports differ considerably, and as this is not a technical paper, it may be as well to explain that by accommodation and facilities is meant the provision of dock-quays, wharves, or sheds, where steamers can come alongside in safety to discharge or receive passengers and goods, along with sheds and warehouses wherein the goods can be stored.

Vessels are berthed either at quays inside wet docks which are entered through gates and a lock, at wharves built on the banks of a river or inside sheltered harbours or jetties projecting into a river or harbour.

Bombay relies almost entirely on wet docks. The Prince's Dock, begun in 1875, and completed in 1880, has

a basin accommodation of 30 acres, and a depth at the entrance of 28 feet below H W O S T

The Victoria Dock was put in hand in 1885 and completed in 1888, with a basin of 25 acres and an average entrance depth 2 feet lower than the Prince's Dock

Lastly, the Alexandra Dock was begun in 1905 and completed in 1914, with a water area of $49\frac{1}{2}$ acres and an entrance depth of $37\frac{1}{4}$ feet below H W O S T

The Prince's Dock and Victoria Dock can accommodate 27 vessels of a length from 300 to 500 feet, and the Alexandra Dock 17 vessels of 500 to 525 feet, whilst there is one berth alongside the dock for mail steamers

The Port Trustees are at present discussing further port accommodation either in the shape of another wet dock or wharves in the harbour

Karachi has converted what in 1839 was a shallow more or less land-locked lagoon into a fine port with 8,600 feet of deep-water wharfage, equivalent to seventeen steamer berths, besides wharves for country craft and the coasting steamer trade

The deep-water wharves have a depth of 28 feet alongside at H W O S T which it is proposed to increase to 34 feet, and a comprehensive scheme for additional wharfage has been sanctioned and is awaiting finance

Calcutta combines wet docks with river wharves The wet docks at Kidderpur were completed in 1892, and contain eighteen berths for general produce and ten coal berths

The river berths are used solely for the import trade, and are 4,750 feet long, or nine ships' berths

A large new wet dock-system is at present under construction, and was inaugurated and named the "King George Dock" by H R H the Duke of Connaught in February, 1921 The new dock will have a water area of 190 acres, 25,000 feet of quay-wall accommodating thirty-five steamers, and a depth of water at the entrance at highest high water of $45\frac{1}{2}$ feet

In addition to the wet docks, five additional jetties are being constructed in the river in the vicinity of the dock

It is hoped that the new dock will be sufficiently advanced to be opened for nine berths in 1927, and the only criticism one can make is that if the Port Authority had had more foresight and imagination the dock would have been on the verge of completion in 1914, and would have cost little more than half the present rates

Calcutta's greatest drawback is the unstable condition of its river, and at certain times the draught of vessels passing up at high water is limited to 27 to 28 feet

Madras has been described as a challenge flaunted in the face of nature, as it is an artificial harbour formed of breakwaters thrust into the Bay of Bengal and exposed to the full force of the south-west monsoon Deep-water wharves, sheds, and other appliances of a modern port have been constructed, but nevertheless, in the event of a gale, all commanders of vessels are recommended by the Port Authority to go out to sea as soon as the danger signal is exhibited on the port flagstaff

Rangoon is the centre of the rice trade, and exports from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons per annum, the outstanding feature being the simplicity, cheapness, and despatch with which the export trade is conducted The paddy is brought from up-country by rail and water to the mills Every mill is situated on the banks of a river or creek and has its own jetty, and when the paddy has been converted into rice and bagged for shipment, the bags are thrown into cargo-boats waiting alongside the mills and conveyed to the vessels moored in the stream, the river taking the place of wet docks in other ports, the work of loading can proceed on both sides of the vessels night and day, and there is no Eastern port where steamers get better despatch

For the import trade deep-water wharves have been constructed on the banks of the river, and for the great up-river trade numerous floating landing-stages have been erected

At the present time the world is largely occupied with schemes for conserving capital, and in port extension projects it is a general rule that wherever it is possible to do so deep-water wharves should be substituted for wet docks

At Rangoon the bulk of the export trade does not even require deep-water wharves, as vessels lie at moorings in the river, but the Port Commissioners are obsessed with the idea that because Calcutta and Bombay, under quite different conditions, have wet docks they are a necessity for Rangoon, so a comprehensive and costly system of wet docks, complete with locks to pass through the largest steamers, have been designed, and H R H the Prince of Wales, when he visited Burma in 1922, was pleased to permit the proposed docks to be named the "Prince Edward Docks" Fortunately the naming of the docks does not confer sanction to the project or provide the necessary funds, and it is to be hoped that in the public interest wiser counsels will prevail, and that this crazy scheme for wasting public money and ruining the port of Rangoon will be postponed indefinitely

Sir William Broodbank, in his interesting paper on "Problems in Port Administration," observes that in the provision of new accommodation and facilities for trade the main problem is how to anticipate future demands without unduly taxing the present users of the ports, and in comparing British and American engineering practice he points out that the American takes care so to construct his up-to-date facilities that by the time they get out of date the question of scrapping does not disturb his financial equilibrium, but that the Britisher makes his solid concrete quays and massive walls, and when the time comes to reconstruct he has to write off an enormously heavier capital

There is, unfortunately, a very great deal of truth in Sir William Broodbank's remarks, as it is frequently overlooked by port officials that the port is made for the

convenience and assistance of trade, and that schemes magnificent in conception and execution, although highly creditable to the engineers, are useless if they are unnecessary or financially unsound

The following tables and comments thereon show briefly the financial status and magnitude of the ports and extent of their trade in comparison with 1913-14, which was the last pre-war year and also the year when each port had reached its highest level of prosperity

The figures are taken from the administration reports of the various ports, but as each port has its own way of keeping accounts and statistics and of compiling its annual reports, it is difficult to compare one with the other except on broad lines

BOMBAY

Year	Ordinary Revenue	Ordinary Expenditure	Establishment	Interest and Sinking Fund	Net registered Tonnage of Vessels entering the Port	Total Tonnage of—		Total
						Imports	Exports.	
	Lakhs.	Lakhs	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Tons	Tons.	Tons	Tons
1913-14	98 79	79 27	16 83	53 49	4,656 515	Not available		
1919-20	196 90	194 42	—	—	4,221,530	3 139 000	3,114,000	6 253 000
1920-21	222 97	221 57	—	80 68	4,822,510	3 322 000	2 750 000	6 072 000
1921-22	217 17	227 80	53 88	85 81	5,401,178	3,978,000	2,747 000	6,725 000

Bombay was India's principal war port, and therefore did not suffer financially from the war

The revenue has increased, in 1921-22, 119 8 per cent since 1913-14, but the expenditure has increased 188 per cent, and the establishment 220 per cent. This is to a great extent due to the working expenses of the new docks, which were only opened in 1914

The deficit of 10 lakhs in 1921-22, with a greatly increased tonnage both of shipping and goods, is largely due to a decrease of $36\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs in receipts from ground and shed rents

KARACHI

Year	Ordinary Revenue	Ordinary Expenditure.	Establishment	Interest and Sinking Fund	Net registered Tonnage of Vessels entering the Port	Total Tonnage of—		Total handled.
						Imports	Exports	
	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Tons.	Tons	Tons	Tons
1913-14	48 22	39 00	2 91	14 71	2,056 379	1 483 069	1,067 004	2 550 073
1920 21	58 31	59 39	7 86	15 36	2 108,346	820 641	330 357	1 150,998
1921 22	63 18	62 70	7 70	15 69	2,346 617	434 277	696,309	1 130 586

As compared with 1913-14, the tonnage handled at Karachi shows a great falling off in 1921-22, mainly due to the stoppage of wheat exports. Working expenses have, however, increased, and it has been necessary to raise rates. Fortunately, as it was a war port, Karachi was able to pay its way during the war years.

In 1921-22, out of the total revenue, 6 13 lakhs was met by surcharge and 6 30 lakhs was arrears due by Government.

CALCUTTA

Year	Ordinary Revenue	Ordinary Expenditure	Establishment	Interest and Sinking Fund	Net registered Tonnage of Vessels entering the Port.	Total Tonnage of—			Grand Total Goods handled
						Imports	Exports (general)	Coal Exports	
	Lakhs	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons
1913 14	151 28	156 61	29 92	60 05	4 256 987	1,800 673	1,231,589	3 017 180	6 049,442
1919 20*	223 55	225 51	—	60 90	2,941 846	1,366,812	1 146,479	2 264,976	4,778,267
1920 21	266 08	251 61	53 90	62 60	4 017,514	1 098 347	1 133,719	3 046 400	5 278,466
1921 22	219 17	240 39	60 13	63 35	3 446 021	1,319 772	974,783	1 687,222	3,981,777

In tonnage of vessels entering the port and in tonnage of goods handled, Calcutta has not yet reached pre-war standard, the ordinary revenue has, however, increased 44 8 per cent, and the ordinary expenditure 53 5 per cent over 1913-14 figures.

The increase in revenue is largely accounted for by increases under the heads rentable lands and buildings and by raising certain rates and dues.

The expense of working the port has increased hugely under every head of account—cost of establishment having gone up 100 9 per cent.

* Special war surcharge of 64 66 lakhs

MADRAS

Year	Ordinary Revenue.	Ordinary Expenditure	Registered Tonnage of Vessels entering the Port	Total Tonnage handled
	Lakhs.	Lakhs	Tons	Tons
1913 14	15 27	11 39	1,777,470	797 665
1920 21	29 58	22 13	1,662 444	848,756
1921 22	25 43	23 21	1 943,159	874 080

Madras has in 1921-22 got well past the 1913-14 figures of trade, and has a surplus of revenue over expenditure

RANGOON

Year	Ordinary Revenue	Ordinary Expenditure.	Establishment.	Interest and Sinking Fund	Net registered Tonnage entering the Port	Exports and Imports. Total Tonnage handled
	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Tons	Tons.
1913 14	51 84	37 03	6 95	15 58	2 946 774	4,557 401
1920 21	54 61	54 12	11 10	17 94	2 800 513	4 037,923
1921 22	59 33*	65 95	14 00	19 98	3,098,509	4,562 094

In 1921-22 Rangoon had just exceeded the pre-war tonnage of shipping entering the port and of goods handled

The ordinary revenue was 59 33 lakhs compared to 51 84 lakhs in 1913-14, but the ordinary expenditure had advanced from 37 03 lakhs to no less than 65 95 lakhs

* Plus 15 85 lakhs surcharge

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATION IN CHINA

BY DR S LAVINGTON HART

THAT the subject which I have the honour to discuss is a large one is evident from the fact that there are in the elementary schools of China, apart from all other grades of institutions, more than four million scholars. If for a moment or two we try to envisage this huge number, and reflect that before long there will be many more, while at the same time we remember that the education of all these masses is in a state of transition and that the next few years will be the formative period during which the character must finally be given to the instruction of one-quarter of the human race, we must be driven to the conclusion that there are very few questions that can exceed it in magnitude.

Even if our survey of this theme prove of necessity to be but partial, it may be that it will help us at some further time to enter upon a fuller and more comprehensive study. The subject is certainly worth it.

The revolution dates back, as everyone knows, to the days after the war with Japan and the Boxer rising.

But revolutions are never produced suddenly, nor are they spontaneous. However rapid the outburst and sweeping the changes, there is always a long time of preparation. The accumulation of conditions which make the old impossible, and the spreading of the spirit which ushers in the new, are there long before the arrival of the circumstances which force on the revolution.

The unexpected failure of the Chinese army when confronted with Japan, and the tragic ending of the Boxer endeavour for freedom from the presence of foreign in-

fluences, these constituted the needed circumstances. The conditions which were gradually though imperceptibly rendering a continuation of the old régime impossible it is not for us to consider here, but with the new spirit that had been at work and at last gave direction to the outburst for freedom, we as educationalists are concerned.

For more than a half-century it had been spreading and growing, like the leaven in the meal or the seed in the ground.

Robert Morrison was there early, even perhaps earlier than R. S. Brown, who opened a school at Macao in 1839. Although not on Chinese soil, Morrison's Anglo-Chinese school at Malacca was for the Chinese, and as soon as possible—that is, in 1842—it was removed to Hong Kong.

Another equally striking and significant beginning was made in the early forties at Ningpo by Miss Aldersey, an English lady, who must have been gifted with the rarest enterprise and fortitude to have been able to conduct a school for girls in that city so long ago, and to succeed in having some sixty scholars, the majority of whom were boarders. It must never be forgotten that the education of girls will prove the crucial point in the history of China, as in every other country. How much is owing to Miss Aldersey for the new departure she originated eighty years ago it would be hard to estimate.

Many others went forth who had continued in their narrow spheres. Need we mention the names of the founders of the schools that have influenced China? St. John's University, Nan Yang University, Pei Yang University at Tientsin, the Tung Wen Kuan, the origin of the Government University, in Peking, and the Pei Yang Medical College in Tientsin, all these were founded by men, let it be remembered, who had gone to China as Christian missionaries. Names like Boone, W. A. P. Martin, Kenneth Mackenzie, Timothy Richard, and those of many others still living, will long be remembered.

One of the earliest results was that Chinese students,

amongst them T'ang Shao-yi, Liang Ming-ting, and their comrades, were sent abroad, to the United States for the most part. This small beginning of a very large movement was due to the foresight of statesmen like Li Hung Chang, and if his example had been more freely followed, the changes introduced by the Revolution would have come more peacefully to China. For although the educational reformation in itself was bloodless, it was not possible that some should not have to pay the price, and this they did right nobly. My first years in China were spent at Wuchang. The grandson of T'an, the governor of that city, was brought under the new influences, and alone in all his entourage he was being prepared for martyrdom. K'ang Yu-wei, profoundly impressed by the necessity for radical reforms, had found in the Emperor Kuang Hsu a ready convert, for his heart also had proved fertile soil for the new seed. The famous edicts were issued in 1898, and among other reforms was the proposal for the organization of modern schools throughout the whole Empire wherein Chinese and Western learning should be taught. There were to be district schools and colleges in the prefectural cities and provincial capitals, all leading up to the University in Peking. Though the old system of literary examinations was still to continue, its days could not but be numbered, for through the edict it was plain that the State considered it to be its duty to educate and not only to examine.

Opposition to radical changes of this order was certain, and the celebrated *coup d'état* showed how strong the opposition was. The young Emperor found himself a prisoner in his own palace, and the Reformers had to flee for their lives. K'ang Yu-wei escaped through the help of his friend Timothy Richard, but young Mr T'an and some of his comrades in the movement were seized and put to death.

Just as he was condemned, T'an said some memorable words. "I am glad," he declared, "to die for my country,

but be assured that for every one of us who die here to-day there will arise ten thousand to carry on the work" Prophetic words that have proved true indeed, for through the death of T'an and his friends was born *Young China*, and the success of the revolution was assured!

All this was before the Boxer troubles. After the failure of this rising the Empress Dowager showed that she had learnt some wisdom, for in 1901 she issued an edict furthering the plans already proposed by Kuang Hsu. The examination halls were to be turned into colleges, but the examination system was to continue. However, at last, in 1905, the age-honoured old-style literary examinations were abolished.

The political revolution of 1911 added still more radical changes, for the new provisional government eliminated the study of the classics from the primary schools, and ordered the preparation of new textbooks, which were to be in harmony with the new spirit of the age.

But enough of dates and bare recapitulation of facts.

To me, and I hope to most, the significant thing about these changes is not that certain edicts were issued in Peking, or that such and such a far-seeing statesman promulgated certain reforms, but that the spirit of the people themselves was changed, and that instead of the old-style scholar there was rising fast in every part of the Empire the new Chinese student. And China owes as much to-day to the new student as the Empire did in the former days to the well-known classical scholar.

I noticed this change in the attitude towards Western learning very forcibly, for just before the Boxer troubles I had ventured on certain very mild suggestions for alteration in the curriculum of a small school in Tientsin, indeed, it was merely the addition of arithmetic to the Chinese abacus system, which was already being taught. A teacher, himself a distinctly bright and clever Chinese scholar, deprecated the innovation, which he spoke of as

being stupid The innovation was not much of a success, I am bound to admit

I came home in 1899, and returned soon after things were beginning to settle down after the shock of the anti-foreign uprising I found everything changed people were thinking differently, instead of having to suggest in a tentative way that some Western learning might prove useful I discovered that there was an eagerness to learn on the part of even those who had held aloof before It was then that the college over which I have had the honour to preside was started, and I, for one, must always consider the founding of this institution as a direct outcome of the change in the popular estimate of the value of the new learning At the suggestion of two eminent Chinese scholars the Chinese name of "Hsin hsueh," new learning, was given to it, and this title helps one to remember to-day that in 1901 the education which is now so common and widespread in China was a new thing, but a new thing to which the people with unexpected favour turned most readily, for the revolution in education was not a matter of official dictation, it was essentially a desire on the part of the Chinese man in the street This fact needs to be pointed out, for we have to assert that "China" is, not the the Government nor the Tutchuns, but the people And if we spell this word with a capital P, we can allow to the people of China the famous words of Le Grand Monarque "L'État—c'est moi!"

I am far from wishing, while speaking of purely educational matters, to slip into national or political questions, but it is allowable to point out one lesson, that all might learn with advantage, from the readiness I have been referring to on the part of the people of China to alter their standpoint on a matter which had always been held of the first importance in that country—namely, the instruction and education of their young men and the preparation of their rulers and officials

It is a proof of the alertness of the nation, of the juve-

nility, one might say, of this ancient race, that they can show themselves capable of understanding the signs of the times and profiting from almost overwhelming disaster, turning even their reverses into gains because of the elasticity of their national life. It is not difficult to give way to pessimistic views when considering the present position of China, but these reflections on the power of China to recover and improve her position, which, I believe, follow naturally from the review of the intellectual revolution of the early days of this century, should help to stay our yielding to despair, and give us fresh stimulus to offer any help in our power to a country so well fitted to profit from our aid.

It must also be remembered that the revolution was a perfect reversal of things held inviolable and sacred up till then.

Tradition was ignored. The whole policy of trusting their nation to the highest of their classical scholars, indeed, the system itself of making all instruction turn on the gaining of the time-honoured classical degrees—all this was given up.

If we try to picture what a similar change might mean in this country, we shall understand the change more fully. Think of the institutions in Great Britain which are hoary with age and endowed with the richest tradition, for instance, the training and the degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, the public school life of Eton or Harrow and other great schools, not to speak of all the primary instruction throughout the land being given up as out of date and sacrificed in order to introduce a new plan from abroad. Would we ever prove willing, even when faced with the gravest national peril?

Anyhow, there is some room for us to reflect on the suggestive comparison as we close this first part of our review, the revolution in education of twenty-five years ago.

The next point to consider is the fear of denationalization, or, shall I say at once, the *alleged* fear of de-

nationalization? For I fear that even if I have succeeded in bringing you with me so far in our survey, ways may begin to part just at this point, for there has been not a little controversy as to the existence of this danger

Not that anyone will be found who is anxious to denationalize, we are all against such a process, be it for China or any other country. The controversy lies not there, but in the actual question as to whether there is fear or not that modern education, as it is at present and as it is going to be, is likely to weaken the strong characteristics of the Chinese people

Care must be exercised as to the precise meaning we attach to the word, and also as to the special direction which the dreaded process is supposed to take

Generally speaking, what is meant is that the scholar or student becomes unfitted by his studies and his life in the school for the ordinary occupations that lie before him and the plain duties of citizenship. The result of education in such a case is that he is either removed from his proper surroundings or feels himself above them because of the new ideas he has received

Now, to be quite fair, one must recognize that this charge may be levied against any school or any education if it is at all "modern," whether the school be under foreign or Chinese supervision

Indeed, in this sense similar accusations might be brought against education at home for the same results can be seen at times in this country. And yet who would wish to condemn educational endeavours on this ground?

"Denationalization" of this order is not confined, however, to education. The same phenomenon is in clear evidence as the natural result of "modern" commerce. It is distinctly a breaking away from the honoured past when, instead of the old-fashioned and harmless water tobacco-pipe, cigarettes are indulged in, or other articles of foreign origin are bought and used to the detriment of the indigenous produce

A remarkable commentary on this charge of denationalization is, however, found in the fact that quite recently—that is, within the last two or three years—a determined effort has been made by the leaders of associated schools under Christian management to supply a new type of school altogether for the large country districts. In these new institutions education would be given to the children of farmers so as to fit them for remaining on the land as agriculturists, but with enlarged views as to their calling and fresh insight into their duties as citizens.

The very reverse of denationalization!

At times, however, another meaning is attached to the word, and as the question is sufficiently important, it may be well to enquire into it further.

Do we mean that there is danger that through modern education in China there will be produced a loss of love of country or a neglect of national customs? Or is the fear founded on the dread that the new learning will lead to slackness in the cultivation of the language of China?

It is not necessary to say anything on the first of these three causes for alarm. It has been proved again and again during the last decade that of all the classes of the people the student class is the most patriotic, the most willing to think out the great problems of the country, and the most willing to sacrifice interests and prospects in order that the country may be saved.

And this is true not only of those who are studying in their own country and see its need with their own eyes. It is especially true of the students who are studying away from their home—for instance, those at work in this country. Where are there any more enthusiastic believers in the pre-eminence of China than the Chinese living here in Great Britain? Where are there any, even among the ranks of the old-style scholars, who are so confident that China will pull through or so determined to help her do it? No, there has been no loss of patriotism through the pursuit of the most modern education.

Now as to the second of the indictments Is it true that educationalists are responsible for changes in the habits of the people, and even for neglect of some of the national customs ?

We plead guilty to the charge, and, moreover, would do so again if the need and the opportunity arose

Not that all the customs are to be changed, perhaps none know better than educationalists the excellence of the ancient practices and quiet virtues that happily abound still in China, but many things have changed, and if the responsibility is laid at our doors, we do not refute the charge Let me be a little more precise Everyone knows, for instance, the fashion of the old-style scholar in China - a little ponderous, slow-moving, with most conscious dignity and impressive importance Was this to continue? In 1911 the Government emphasized the need of physical exercises for students, and recommended the practice of games and sports But years before this became a matter of official recommendation, we had decided upon this very course in our own college as in many other colleges

It was in 1904, if I remember right, that we decided upon having an athletic meet in our college, the events of which were to be open to all students in Tientsin These were the first sports for Chinese students to be held in that place, as far as I know The results were far from bad, though I remember that we became quite excited when one of our fellows cleared 6 feet 6 inches at the pole vault competition We did not anticipate then that one of his successors would prove the champion at the same event in the Far Eastern Olympic meeting at Tokyo, and win the place for his country with a far higher record

Some Chinese officials were present, and in his kindness at the end of the meeting one of them declared to me that we were doing a splendid thing for China that day

But not all were so free to appreciate the new thing

in the life of students. One of our men had brought his uncle to see the sports. The old gentleman was a fine example of the Chinese scholar, with a high literary degree. He witnessed a part of the proceedings, and then went off in high dudgeon, declaring to his nephew that he had always heard of the cruelty of the foreigners, but had never been willing to believe in it, but now he knew that it was true, for he had seen foreigners that day drive Chinese students so that they had to run like horses and jump like dogs!

In those days we were breaking through certain customs roughshod, nevertheless, it had to be done, and we are glad to-day that we had a part in bringing the new and very sturdy Chinese athlete into existence. He will have to be reckoned with, not only in Far Eastern competitions, but here at home and in America.

One of the beautiful things in China is the spirit of reverence towards seniors and especially towards teachers. When our college began a little over a score of years ago that spirit was freely shown to me and others—that is, it was shown in the old and recognized way.

If a student saw me while he was riding in his rickshaw, he would of his own free will and in obedience to the fine feeling I am referring to stop his rickshaw at once and jump off, so as not to be seen riding when his teacher was afoot. And if he was wearing his spectacles, off they would come. To-day these things are not to be seen. Is it that the feeling of respect has grown less? Many would say so, I do not. Now our scholars are riding, not only in rickshaws, but, as most do, on bicycles, and especially motorcycles. Or else it is the electric tramcar. Shall I be foolish enough to expect my students in the midst of fast, busy traffic to stop and descend from motor-bicycles or tramcars? Naturally not. I look for the respect, which I know they are only too willing to give, not along the old lines, but along the new, which must prevail under the changed conditions of modern life.

Forgive my labouring this self-evident point. It is but an example of much that has to be done to-day. We must cease judging by the criterion of the past, we must look for the reality, and be willing to admit a complete change in form. To-day, and it may be to-morrow, we must exercise understanding leniency, for it is hard for a whole nation to change within a few years its standards of what is right and seemly. Much has changed, and we educationalists have had no small part in bringing it about.

But there remains the last criticism—namely, the lessening love and study of the language of China.

Now this is confessedly a difficult subject. Nor is the solution easy to find.

It must be admitted that if Western learning is to be added to the study of Chinese literature and language, there must be less time for the acquisition of that proficiency in Chinese which is both the admiration and the envy of even Sinologists.

As a well-known Chinese, a member of one of the former Cabinets, said to me recently: "Something must be done about the study of Chinese, boys cannot be expected now to give the time they used to devote years ago, besides, it may be seriously questioned whether the absorption of the mind of the child or young student in a single pursuit for such a length of time can be justified from an educational standpoint."

Modernists among both teachers and students have been accused of sacrificing the interests of Chinese studies for better proficiency in mathematics or some other branch of Western learning. While this may be true in a few cases, it is to be doubted whether it is generally true, and where the impeachment has to be admitted, the pressure of a too full curriculum is to blame rather than any lessening of the regard for the language of China or a failure to recognize the beauty of its literature.

That those who have drunk deeply at the well of Western learning have not lost their love for Chinese lore

is evident from the great part that has been taken by Chinese trained abroad or on modern lines in China in the recent revival of thought and writing that is one of the outstanding features of the third decade of this century I refer to the Renaissance Movement

Apart from the greatness of the topics discussed in this new movement, it seems that from it will come a new language to China, a language that will serve to unite the country and express in a living way the mind of this new China The hope must be expressed that in this way some lightening of the task of acquiring a thorough understanding, and a capacity for clearness of expression, may come to those on whom the double burden rests of being masters of their own tongue and of at least one foreign language as well

Perhaps the question might be asked Why not give up English then ? If we on this side of the world could agree that this would be the wisest course, it is much to be doubted if in China the step would be taken English has come and come to stay, for better or for worse It is our duty to ensure that it shall be for better, for better mutual understanding, better mutual intercourse, better international relations

It is hopeless to expect that in this country there will be a turning towards Chinese as a vehicle of thought, it is almost too much to expect that Britons in China will do much in business or other walks of life through their proficiency in Chinese, though happily there is marked improvement in that direction If China and Great Britain are to understand one another, if we are mutually to learn from one another, it follows that all this must come through the knowledge the Chinese gain of our language, while we passively sit still and allow others to work out the approach Let us for all our sakes hope that the knowledge of English will spread and increase in China, much depends on it, even in the region of politics and international relations

So we who have been at it may plead in extenuation of

some of our grave faults that we have done something for both countries, though at times it seemed as if we were merely there for teaching the A B C

What enthusiasm there was for it when once the tide turned!

We had a number wishing to be taught as soon as we opened the college early in 1902. Men as well as youths came, and we did our best to accommodate them all. The result was that classes were somewhat mixed, young and old had to be put together. There is a story told of those early days in our own college. As everyone here knows, the number of surnames in China is somewhat restricted, so that many must be called by the same name. There are many Wangs, or Lihs, or Changs, and so on.

Two students of the same surname Wang were in one of these early classes, a young fellow, and one distinctly his senior. They went on with their studies day by day until the examination, when unfortunately the junior passed and the senior did not. This might not matter much in ordinary circumstances, but in this case it was fatal, for they were father and son! And when they got home, so the story runs, the son caught it well at the hands of his father. The story may be apocryphal, but I fear that it is true.

English has come to stay, and so has Western learning in all its branches. But there is no fear that through this spread of learning from abroad the Chinese are going to lose the valuable characteristics which have marked them out from other races. They will absorb a great deal, but all the learning they will absorb will be assimilated and adapted to their own special purposes, and the national traits, though they change somewhat in form, will remain always characteristically Chinese.

Whenever there has been known a process of absorption and assimilation in which both Chinese and foreigners have been involved, it has never yet been the Chinese who has been absorbed.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

THE PRESENT POSITION OF LEPER WORK IN INDIA

By FRANK OLDRIEVE

(*Secretary for India, the Mission to Lepers*)

UNDER the reforms medical work is a transferred subject, and leading Indians all over the country are taking a keener interest than ever in the health problems of their country. They realize that it is vastly important that the people of India should have, as far as possible, every chance of being freed from some of the diseases which have scourged the country for so many years. There is an interest in plague work, in malaria fighting, in the elimination of other troublesome diseases that was not so apparent some years ago, and this is as it ought to be. If India is ever to take the place, as many of us believe she will, in the Empire, that she ought to occupy, her people must be healthy.

There are three great endemic diseases in India. Tuberculosis, syphilis, and leprosy. The first of these, which is blighting so many many thousands of Indians every year, was reported on some years ago, and a comprehensive survey made of the ravages of the disease and the steps which ought to be taken to stem the tide which threatens to carry away whole communities. But nothing to speak of has been done, the problem is too great to be tackled. The second has such a grip of so many millions of the people that it, too, seems impossible to stamp out. The third, however, leprosy, is not too great a problem to be tackled successfully, and I have no hesitation in saying

that India could be rid of the scourge of leprosy within thirty years if the right steps were taken now

THE NUMBER OF LEPERS IN INDIA

It is exceedingly difficult to give any estimate of the total number of lepers in the Indian Empire to-day. The census figures of 1921 give the total as 102,513, as against 109,094 in 1911. But it is doubtful if this figure represents anything more than the worst cases, and possibly a majority of this number are the begging and pauper lepers who are seen all over the country. Dr E Muir, the Leprosy Research Worker at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine, says that "we think that it would not be an overestimate to put down the number of lepers in India somewhere between a half and one million." Many connected with leper work to-day are astonished at the number of early cases who are now coming forward and asking for treatment, and it is very doubtful if many of these were entered as lepers in the census. At a large medical institution in Calcutta it was recently discovered that out of a menial staff of sixty men no less than four were lepers.

The table on the opposite page gives the figures from the last two census returns.

From these figures it will be seen that in the larger provinces there are still thousands of lepers, the majority of whom are probably practically begging and pauper lepers. It is, of course, most cheering that even in the enumeration that has been given there are said to be 6,581 less lepers than there were in 1911. It is most probable that about the same care was taken this last census as was taken the previous one, so that the figures may be taken as some evidence of the decrease in the incidence of the disease. The most striking features are the apparent decrease of more than 4,000 cases of leprosy in Bihar and Orissa, while, on the other hand, there is the increase of more than 2,700 cases in Burma. As a whole, it is difficult to say whether there has been any real decrease in the number of lepers in

the Indian Empire It may have decreased in some places and increased in others Evidence has several times reached me that in special centres there has been a decided increase, but we do hope that the work done by The Mission to Lepers, Government, etc, has had the result of bringing about a decrease in some places

LEPERS IN THE INDIAN EMPIRE

Provinces, Etc	Number of Lepers 1911 Census	Number of Lepers 1921 Census	Increase or Decrease
Bengal	17,485	15,897	- 1,588
Bihar and Orissa	16,935	12,269	- 4,666
Madras	16,648	15,753	- 895
United Provinces	14,520	12,649	- 1,871
Bombay	10,303	9,709	- 594
Central Provinces	7,307	8,025	+ 718
Burma	7,038	9,765	+ 2,727
Assam	4,372	4,464	+ 92
Punjab	3,091	2,727	- 364
Central India Agency	1,288	949	- 339
Rajputana Agency	650	405	- 245
N W Frontier Province	282	211	- 71
Others	435	373	- 62
<i>Native States</i>			
Baroda	445	552	+ 107
Gwalior	—	418	—
Hyderabad	3,758	4,214	+ 456
Kashmir	1,352	1,485	+ 133
Cochin	—	466	—
Travancore	—	2,058	—
Mysore	767	314	- 453
Sikkim	24	11	- 13
Others	2,394	—	—
Totals	109,094	102,513	- 6,581

That segregation is necessary has been proved by wide experience in other lands, and that it is successful is beyond a doubt I am indebted to Sir Leonard Rogers for the facts and figures given in the table on p 494

From these striking records we can see that it is most probable that infection is directly communicated in some way or other from a leper to a healthy person through the causative bacillus When we remember that leprosy is not

hereditary—and this is accepted on all hands now as an established fact—it does mean that if we could only deal with the present generation of lepers and with those who now have the disease in the system but are not aware of the fact, but in whom it will develop in a few years' time, we should be able to rid India of the presence of this disease

TABLE OF 700 RECORDED CASES OF THE PROBABLE SOURCE OF INFECTION IN LEPROSY

Mode of Infection	Number	Percentage
House	180	25.7
Room	35	5.0
Bed	64	9.14
Attending on lepers	139	19.87
Leper playmate	23	3.28
Close association with leper	113	16.14
Wet nurse	8	1.14
Wearing leper's clothes	3	0.43
Vaccination	4	0.59
Inoculation from leper	3	0.43
Conjugal	85	12.14
Cohabiting	43	6.14
Total	700	100.00

Segregation should be encouraged along two lines. The asylums belonging to The Mission to Lepers, and other bodies doing leper work, where voluntary inmates are received and cared for, should be enlarged where necessary and made up to date and attractive. Some of the smaller ones, which are inefficient and uneconomical, ought to be closed down and the inmates persuaded to go and live at a better institution. The others should be enlarged to receive 500 inmates, and should be made to serve a district. The larger asylum will be able to have better equipment and a more competent and better qualified staff than the smaller one, it will also be more economically maintained. Where there is a district in which there are a large number of lepers and no asylum existing, an asylum should be built on modern

lines, as a colony or settlement, where agricultural work can be undertaken by the lepers

The second line along which segregation should be undertaken is the extension of the work which has been actually commenced by the Bengal and Madras Provincial Governments. Here leper settlements are being built to provide for the accommodation of the pauper and begging lepers, who will be compulsorily segregated under the Amended Lepers Act of 1920. In Bengal over 700 acres of a site was presented to Government by The Mission to Lepers, through the generosity of a European businessman of Calcutta. Plans are being prepared, and it is hoped that building will be commenced before long. It is only the provincial financial stringency that prevented a start being made more than a year ago. In Madras, through the action of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon and others keenly interested, a site of more than 400 acres has been obtained, and a commencement has already been made in putting up buildings. Bombay is now considering a scheme for removing the existing Matunga Leper Asylum to the mainland and combining with it a large settlement for pauper lepers. The United Provinces has good plans ready, but no money with which to carry them out just at present. Bihar and Orissa is helping a scheme in the Santal Parganas which is likely to develop into a leper settlement of considerable dimensions, while a central settlement for compulsorily segregated lepers will be undertaken as soon as possible. The Central Provinces Government is at present helping The Mission to Lepers to build a model leper asylum, which is much needed, while it will have its own leper settlement as soon as money is more plentiful. The other Provinces are considering schemes of one sort or another, and one hopes that in Burma a real effort will soon be made to deal with the large number of lepers in that beautiful land.

If these schemes can be undertaken soon I firmly believe that when the next census is taken it will be evident that

such a method of segregation is successful in bringing about a diminution in the number of lepers in the country

The most hopeful feature of the present situation, however, is that of the success of the latest treatments for the disease itself. We are using in India those introduced by Sir Leonard Rogers, and now being carried out all over the country under the supervision of Dr E Muir. This is not the place nor the time to deal with this question in detail, but I have no hesitation in saying that we are now beyond the period of what might be called experiment. The treatments now being used so widely are giving results beyond the hopes of many who have worked for long years among lepers. I have myself just returned from a tour in India, and during my stay I visited twenty-two leper asylums, and, among them, all the largest in the country. Wherever the treatments are being used carefully and systematically the lepers are recovering. I have seen several hundred lepers who are recovering. Their ulcers are healing up, indeed, in some asylums, bandages are hardly ever seen, the anæsthetic parts are becoming full of feeling again, the faces are becoming normal once more, the nodules are disappearing, and the general health is wonderfully better as a result.

In one asylum, where Dr Mrs Kerr is giving the treatment to 250 lepers, some of the inmates met together for a praise meeting, to "thank God that once again they could feel prickly heat." In the same asylum the lepers regularly play football, badminton, have Swedish drill and do cooly work, besides having splendid gardens where they grow vegetables.

DECREASING DEATH-RATE AMONG LEPERS

One of the most striking results of the new treatments is that the general health of the lepers improves wonderfully and the death-rate decreases. The following figures are from the Purulia Leper Asylum (belonging to The Mission

to Lepers), where there are usually between 600 and 700 inmates

Year	Total Number of Deaths	Average per Month
1919	266	22 16
1920	214	17 83
1921	111	9 25
1922 (10 months)	38	3 80

Of course, we know that in 1919 the death-rate was somewhat higher than usual, but we also know that in 1921 and 1922 the new treatments have been given to the majority of the leper inmates. Hookworm has also been treated of late, and this has almost certainly had a little to do with the decrease, but, allowing for all these things, those who know best are certain that most of this extraordinary decrease—for note that it has fallen to about one-sixth of what it was in 1919—is due to the fact that the lepers are recovering, and that is a wonderful thing to see.

It was at this asylum that a few months ago no less than six girls who had been inmates of the leper asylum for some time were, after careful treatment, pronounced to be, as far as Dr Muir could tell after the most critical examination, free of the disease. If they remain free then they are cured, but, seeing how long an incubation period leprosy has, it would be unwise to say so now. But they are apparently free of leprosy. That is indeed much to be thankful for.

To sum up the present position. Voluntary segregation is the right thing to encourage for those who will segregate themselves and receive treatment. Compulsory segregation is the course to follow in the case of those who persist in mixing with the healthy population and thus spreading the disease, as is the case with pauper and begging lepers. The extension of the use of the latest treatments is most important. Special leper clinics should be established by Government in suitable centres and the treatment provided

free And, lastly, an educational campaign should be commenced as soon as possible, and information about the disease itself—how it is spread and how to diagnose it, also the benefits of segregation and the efficacy of the latest treatments—spread all over the country The situation was never more hopeful, and a wisely directed campaign against the disease would be certain to end in the stamping out of the disease in the whole of India. If it can be done then we ought to try and do it, and do it now !

HISTORICAL SECTION

THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART, TO AURANGZEBE

BY HARIHAR DAS, F R S L, F R HIST S

CHAPTER I (*Continued*)

IN the following letter William Norris mentions that Lord Rivers sails to join the army in Flanders, but is driven back by a storm. The nation expects news of an attack on the French lines.

LONDON,
June 8th, 1695

HONRD SIR,

The enclosed [missing] came to my hands yesterday soe I tooke the first opportunity of sendinge it to you though I had nothinge of moment to incert with it. My Lord Rivers & the Commanders that went with him I hope are gott safe in Flanders by this time though they mett with a storm & contrary [MS "contratry"] winds in their passage which forced them back to Sherness & were all separated from their Convoy. Wee are now in daily expectation to heare from the Army that the King has Forced the Lines, for he is fully resolv'd on the attempt & I hope itt will be with successe. I suppose you have been joy fully receiv'd att Leverpoole before this, I mean by those whom you have been assistant to in regaininge their libertys. I perceive by the list that Brother Dick & his Landlord are down for Bayliffs though I doubt not but will execute their office very cordially. pray give my humble service to all our good Freinds there next time you goe. I hope this will find you safe & hearty after your journey. I was to wait on my Lord Macclesfield this morninge to know when he designed for Lancashire but his honour was not stirring & desird me to come to morrow. Pray give my Duty to Mother & Love to sisters my wife gives her humble service & Nick hopes you will not forgett him nor his service to the young Lady I heare

Sam Legay is come to town but have not seen him yet
I am Honoured Sir

Your affectionate Brother &
humble servant
WM NORRIS

pray remember me heartily to your good neighbours
Alderman Percivall and Mr Cooke

Addressed These

To Thomas Norris Esq^r
Att Speake Hall neare
Leverpoole
In
Lancashire

Frank

William Norris and Joseph Maudit were active defendants of a suit between the cheesemongers and the Corporation of Liverpool in 1695 which is alluded to in the following letter

LONDON,
June 29th [1695]

HONRD SIR,

I have been soe much out of order for these ten days that I could but just write a line to my Brother Dick last weeke & send him enclosd your note for 30 guin[eas] I received the 40 guinnys very safe I suppose he has either * your note or sent it to you Mr Braddon was with me this morninge who came directly from the Secretarys office & told me he expected to have the Charter returnd from Flanders by Tuesday next & then doubts not but to dispatch it in a fortnight if the petition of the Cheese mongers proves no obstruction I fancy he is in some want of supplys in carryinge the businesse on for he borrowed 30^{lb} of me last weeke (but this only to your selfe) Mr Mauditt came to take his leave of me this weeke & was to sett forwards for Leverpoole yesterday in the Chester Coach I shall stay in Town till Mrs Cecill is well again after her Lying in which will be A month at least if I can doe you any service in this or any other matter I shall be most ready Wee have no forreign post scince Tuesday soe consequently no news & are very quiett

* The word here is indecipherable.

att home pray give my Duty to my mother Love to
sisters & humble service to all friends & acquaintance[s]

I am Honrd Sir

Your affectionate Brother &

humble Servant

WM NORRIS

Addressed These

To Thomas Norris Esq^r

Att Speake Hall

neare Leverpoole

In Lancashire

Endorsed by Thomas Norris "Wm N for 40 guein "

William Norris also worked to secure the Charter granted to the town in September that year "These Charters were very far from giving universal satisfaction amongst the burgesses They did not create any system of municipal representation analogous to the Parliamentary system of the country , but rendered the town council self-elected, leaving only a nominal control to the burgesses, in common hall assembled"~ At this time the name of Liverpool was becoming increasingly famed as a place of business facilities It is at this period, the reign of William III , that the commercial prosperity of the town may be said to rise, for these years saw the inauguration of several enterprises calculated to further the progress and importance of the town, which "began more rapidly to advance in size, population, and commerce" Most of William Norris's contemporaries in Liverpool were influential men, "amongst whom are divers eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose trade and traffic, especially into the West Indies, makes it famous, its situation affording in great plenty, and at reasonable rates than in most parts of England, such exported commodities as are proper for the West Indies"†

He has business with Sir F Child, and sends Thomas

* See pp 337 9 of the "History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool," by Thomas Baines

† See p 301 of the Fox Bourne's "English Merchants "

Norris the details of his account Admiral Rooke is reported off Ushant He also mentions the Venetian Ambassador's visit to the House of Commons

LONDON,
Apr 23rd, 1696

HONRD SIR,

I received yours & went accordingly to Sir Francis Child & received of him the 100^{lb} you sent me a bill for I likewise examin'd him as you [d]esird how accounts stood betwixt you which he showd me in his booke 1000^{lb} he stood indebted to you of which he had dischargd by 2 bills both paid to me 200^{lb} soe that 800^{lb} remains due to you of which I suppose you have given my mother Bills for 500^{lb} soe that accordinge to your own account 300^{lb} will remain due to you when my mother is paid The enclosd [missing] will give you the best accounts of the late Tryalls and wee have little news else stirringe but that wee had the good news just now of Admirall Rookes safe arrivall 20 leagues of Ushant soe that to our great Consolation (for wee have been under some apprehensions) wee may expect him as the wind stands tomorrow morninge The Venetian Ambassadour sent to desire the favour off seeinge the house of Commons to day whilst wee were sittinge & accordingly came with 10 noble venetians to attend him where he satt [do] wn for halfe an houre in the Gallery & wee very mute & as grave [as] the Senate att venice could be pray give my Duty to mother Respects [t]o your Lady Love and service to Sisters I am Honoured Sir

Your most affectionate Brother
& devoted servant

WM NORRIS

Addressed These

To Thomas Norris Esq^r
Att Speake neare
Leverpoole
Lancashire

Frank

WM NORRIS

Endorsed "W Norris of his Receit of 200^l & Sir F Childs Account" This in Thomas Norris's hand

William Norris succeeded his eldest brother Thomas as Member of Parliament for Liverpool on November 1, 1695 He was a Whig, and in 1696 spoke in favour of the bill of

attainder brought against Sir John Fenwick, the Jacobite, for his share in the recent plot for assassinating William III. Bills of attainder being an odious method of getting rid of an adversary without due trial, the debates on this bill were long and exciting, although little doubt was felt as to Fenwick's guilt. Norris was fully conscious of the importance of the occasion—the life of a man, the preservation of the King and Government and the power of Parliaments, he pointed out, had all to be considered. He believed the accused to be guilty of treason, and of other crimes almost equal to treason, but having evaded trial in Westminster Hall the House of Commons must deal with him. To quote precedents was, he thought, “a little dry”—had he been an opponent of the bill he would no doubt have expressed himself differently—but referred to an attainder by Parliament in the time of Richard II, and then passed on to his main argument “that we are the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, and if so, sir, we have a discretionary power to do whatsoever we see is for the good of the kingdom, and if we are to be circumscribed by the rules of Westminster Hall, and we are to do nothing but what they would do, to what purpose do we sit here, if we are entrusted with this power, and may exert it, I think here is a fit occasion for you to exert this authority.” Possibly he thought this was rather strong doctrine for a Whig, for after remarking on what he thought the inconsistency of some who had advocated the Bill of Exclusion in the time of Charles II but opposed the present bill, he passed on to discuss the guilt of Sir John. He believed Captain Porter to be a good witness, for Fenwick's party “would have given a great reward to have taken him off.” Goodman, who had been persuaded to keep out of the way, was no doubt equally good, consequently he regarded the accused as “a rotten member” of the body politic, almost past cure, who must be cut off for the preservation of the whole. If this were not done, others would trifle with a power that could not effectually exert itself, and would

learn to despise it. He would accordingly vote for the bill, as desiring to make it a warning and precedent for the future. "Because it may happen in future ages, that ministers of State and persons concerned in the government may be faulty, and as the law stands now, he is but a bungling politician that can't ruin the government, and yet not come within the bill of treason to be hanged for it." This view prevailed, the bill passed the Commons by 189 to 156, and the Lords by 68 to 61, and Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill on January 28, 1696-7*.

Sir William mentions in the following letter how the English and Irish Papists tried to bribe Porter in the Fenwick trial and the sequel which followed the dramatic attempt. He also alludes to the King's arrival in Holland and Lord Capel's death.

LONDON,
May ye 9th, 1696

THO^s NORRIS ESQ^r
SPEAKE

HON^d SIR,

I received yours, but have not yet heard any thing of Mr Done. When he comes to Town, I shall observe your orders in every point. I have already discovered my Lord Macclesfield, who designs to present it to the Lords Justices, who are the same, to a man, they were last year. The King is long ere this got over into Holland, the Wind having been fair now, though for a Day or two he was retarded and blown back by contrary winds. We have not much News stirring, but shall expect great matters from Flanders this Summer, for the French, as well as we, design to make their utmost efforts this campaign. There is an express came from Ireland to Day, which brings word of the Lord Lieutenant's, my L^d Capel's, death. I suppose we shall have a new one constituted very speedily, and it is my private opinion, (but I have no further ground for it,) that my L^d Wharton, the Comptroller, will succeed to the place. There has been a wretched attempt made lately by some English and Irish Papists to Bribe off Porter from being an evidence with a Sum of Money, to

* See pp 1083 5, vol v, of the Cobbett's "Parliamentary History of England," printed by T C Hansard, London, also Henry Hallam's "Constitutional History of England," vol iii, p 177

be given here, and a large annuity promis'd him if he would go over into France He took 300 Guineas in earnest, and declared the whole matter to the Secretary of State I have sent you enclosed Villers's receipt for six pounds I paid him for a Champaign Perriwig for you We are in a little distress about payments of Money, which I hope will be easier ere long Pray give my Duty to Mother, respects to your Lady, love and Service to Sisters

I am, &c,
W^M NORRIS *

William Norris's mother and sister postpone their journey north owing to rain meanwhile they move to Hatton Garden to be nearer the coach, should the weather improve The writer prepares his own house for their reception if they abandon their journey He has to attend a christening at Littleton, where his wife acts as god-mother A rumour of peace delights him owing to the financial straits of the country The King's return to England was hourly expected

LONDON,
8th 6th, 1696

HONRD SIR,

I remov'd from Chelsea last weeke att which time my Mother & Sister upon earnest solicitation went to my Lady Strouds in Hatton Garden to be nearer the Coach which they had taken the beginnige of the weeke with intention to have sett forward towards Lancashire the 5th instant, & accordingly last Fryday sent their goods and cloathes all away by the carrier but their havinge faln great quantitys of rain for these 2 days made my Mother and Sister very apprehensive of the waters beinge out and soe rather chose to loose their earnest than run the hazard of drowninge or overturninge I am almost of opinion if the weather continues bad a weeke longer they will not venter on a Northern journey this Winter I am makinge all the hast I can to have our new house in readynesse to be att my Mother and Sisters service if they thinke of Stayinge it is large enough I thinke just to furnish them

* This letter is missing from the original collection of "Norris Papers" It must have existed one time, otherwise it could never have been printed in the Chetham Society Publication of the "Norris Papers" See vol ix of the Chetham Society's "Norris Papers," edited by Thomas Heywood

with conveniencys & I shall be glad of their good company this Winter I had a messenger come to day from Mr Woods of Littleton to summon me to a gossipinge his eldest daughter is newly brought to bed & my wife is to make the child a Christian I shall not stay above 2 days from London & if you please to favour me with a letter before the parliament meetes it will find me if directed for me att my house upon the Terras att St James's neare Westminster The King is expected hourly & if the badnesse of the Weather & the wind veeringe a little southerly has not turnd him back I beleive he will land before I reach Littleton Wee are as much in the darke as to peace as wee were A moneth agoe if it is honourable & secure it will be a great blessinge att this juncture for it will puzzle a more politick Nodde than mine to find out ways and meanes to carry on the Warr for consideringe the Land Bank faild and other funds prove deficient there will be att least 3 millions to make good of the last yeare & how that will be found & enough to carry on the service of the next yeare is difficult to imagin in this great scarcity of money And when all is said if wee have not a peace wee are ruind to all intents and purposes as far as the French Kinge and K James can ruin us if wee doe not still prosecute the warr [*sic*] I should be very glad you would please to impart what notions you have about it how it is possible to be done, & yet done it must be or ten times worse than want of money will be the consequence My most humble Service to the Lady & I wish her a happy minute I am Sir

Your most affectionate Brother &
humble Servant
WM NORRIS

Addressed These

To Thomas Norris Esq^r
High Sheriff of Lancashire,
att Speake neare
Leverpoole

Frank
WM NORRIS

CORRESPONDENCE

MUSLIM SUFFERERS IN ANATOLIA

To the EDITOR

SIR,—According to statistics published by the International Red Cross there are in Anatolia at the present time over a million people, including women and children, who are homeless and destitute as a result of the war

The relief societies who have made a joint appeal for Greek and Armenian refugees in the Near East have not found it possible to include these Muslim sufferers within the scope of their work. But anyone who wishes, for humanitarian reasons, to alleviate this widespread distress, may send a donation direct to the Bankers of the British Red Crescent, Messrs Coutts and Co, 440, Strand, W.C. We also understand that the Imperial War Relief Fund and the Save the Children Fund can immediately utilize for this purpose any donations earmarked for relief in Anatolia

Yours truly,

G N W BOFFIN,

*Secretary (Near and Middle East Association)**June 18, 1923*

The signatories are

Major-General Lord Edward Giechen, K.C.V.O., C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O.
(Chairman of Committee)

The Right Hon Syed Ameer Ali,
P.C., C.I.E., L.I.D.

Captain E. N. Bennett, J.P.

Sir Graham Bower, K.C.M.G.

The Right Rev the Bishop of
Bradford

Mr Leland Buxton

Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I.,
G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

The Right Rev the Bishop of
Chelmsford, D.D.

Miss Rosita Forbes

Dr E. H. Griffin, D.S.O., M.C.

Lieut-Colonel the Hon Aubrey
Herbert, M.P.

The Very Rev J. H. Hertz, Ph.D.
(Chief Rabbi of the United
Hebrew Congregations of the
British Empire)

The Right Hon Lord Meston,
K.C.S.I.

Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D.,
F.A.S.B.

Professor J. Arnold Toynbee

The Right Rev Bishop Welldon
(Dean of Durham)

Lady Kitty Vincent

Mr Israel Zangwill

A member of the Executive Committee of the Near and Middle East Association received a letter from Anatolia recently through Mr Leonard Whittall from which the following extracts are taken

"As you doubtless are aware, Anatolia, with the exception, perhaps, of

a few small and insignificant districts, was, between 1914 and 1918, untouched by the scourge of war

"With the advent of the Greek forces in May, 1919, Anatolia's troubles commenced. The regrettable excesses indulged in by the Greek troops were soon emulated by the worst elements of the local Greek civil population in and around the town of Smyrna, with the result that a considerable amount of Turkish property was destroyed, robbed, pillaged or looted, many Turks lost their lives, and the town of Aidin was completely destroyed by fire

"During the Greek retreat from the Zangarius to Afien Karahissar, and thence to Smyrna, not only were hundreds of villages and towns completely destroyed and the inhabitants thus rendered homeless, but an incredible amount of damage was done to the surrounding vineyards, crops, and agricultural implements

"In 1921 I had occasion to visit a few of the mosques and other public buildings in Smyrna, in which a number of these Muslim refugees were quartered, in order to distribute milk supplied, I think, by the British Red Crescent. Mr G. Sterghiades, the then Greek High Commissioner, was doing his best for these unfortunate sufferers, but none the less their condition was truly pitiable. Since then their numbers have, of course, greatly increased, until now there are well over three-quarters of a million of these victims all over Asia Minor

"The Turkish Government is impotent, for it cannot rebuild the devastated areas, and the whole country is terribly impoverished, consequently these poor people (chiefly old men, women, and children) 'just sit down and die,' as a near relative of mine, lately arrived from Smyrna, has told me. They are abandoned by God and man, and hardly a voice is raised in Europe on their behalf. Is it then to be wondered that, seeing the magnitude of the assistance being tendered to the Christian refugees, the Turks are accusing us of indifference to the sufferings of the Muslims *because they are Muslims*. After all, it must be remembered that these sufferers were not the aggressors, but the passive victims of aggression

"The tendering of a little assistance, a slight demonstration of sympathy in the name of humanity, for these Muslims by a British Institution would, I feel confident, go a long way towards removing the bitterness and distrust felt in Turkey against Great Britain "

— — —
IQBALNAGAR, N W R
(MONTGOMERY DISTRICT) PUNJAB
May 13, 1923

SIR,—I have read with great interest Professor Slater's paper on "Protection for India." There is one point, however, on which the professor laid great emphasis, and which calls for further elucidation. He places 2 per cent. of the gross produce from land as the land revenue. He says in Madras in a particular year the produce yielded three hundred crores and land revenue was only six crores. He leaves an impression as

if the available surplus for taxation from land was unlimited I need not point out to Dr Slater the canons, ancient and modern, which govern taxation and the need for determining the available surplus after providing for food and the cost of production It would be interesting if the professor will now give the population of Madras which the production must first support and the surplus that remains after providing food for the people If there is such an abundance two annas a day, as he remarks, "would not make all the difference between adequate nutrition and semi-starvation" In taking into consideration the agricultural conditions of India, the pressure of the population on the available area should not be forgotten, and it is most important to enquire whether half an acre to an acre is enough to support a family and at the same time produce further revenue

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

THE HON SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH, M C S

REPLY

SIR,—There is much land in India of extraordinary fertility, and also much cultivated land that barely pays for cultivation The ryots cultivating this poor land also have much leisure time during periods of the year when there is no agricultural work to be done, and it is of such ryots that I was thinking when I expressed the opinion that even the small earnings obtainable by hand spinning might make the difference between adequate nutrition and semi starvation But, taking India as a whole, agricultural land is still the great source of wealth, and the economic rent of agricultural land the main taxable surplus I cannot here submit an estimate of the amount of that taxable surplus But I would suggest (1) that since 1900 the purchasing power of the rupee has fallen greatly, (2) that the land revenue reckoned in rupees has only increased very slightly since that date, (3) that therefore reckoned in real values the land revenue has greatly decreased, and (4) if the land revenue throughout India were made equal in real values to its amount in 1900, the financial difficulties of all the Indian Governments would disappear, and substantial sums would be available for the development of various Governmental services, such as medical aid, communications, industrial education, and the like, that are now unduly restricted to the great injury of the people and the country I would urge upon Indian opinion the advisability of abolishing the exemption of agricultural incomes from income tax This would bring in a great increase of revenue without inflicting hardship

Yours, etc,

GILBERT SLATER

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

INDIAN ORATORS

BY STANLEY RICE

LET us begin by attempting a definition. Oratory is the art of saying something worth saying in the most persuasive and arresting manner possible. A speech must have substance, many have the gift of eloquent phrases, charming to the ear, but so barren of real thought that on reflection they prove to be worthless. No orator can hope to convince unless he can capture and retain the attention of his audience. And to be persuasive the speech must be sufficiently lucid and well ordered in logical sequence to enable the mind to grasp the content easily. How far do Indians conform to this criterion?

We have longed ceased to wonder at the remarkable facility with which the Indian acquires the English language. We smile good-humouredly at occasional blunders in idiom, but we do not always reflect that for one blunder that the Indian makes in English the Englishman makes a hundred in the vernacular which he prides himself upon talking fluently. This is, perhaps, a commonplace, but it is a commonplace of which we have constantly to remind ourselves. How many of us have talked to an Indian, and when he has turned aside to make a chance remark to a fellow countryman have realized with a start of surprise that after all English is not his mother tongue! And yet the language has only been acquired with difficulty, not without diffidence. Sir Rabindranath Tagore once said that he had never dared to write even a simple letter to an English acquaintance until comparatively late in life.

While, then, we must always bear this handicap in mind, the Indian orator challenges comparison with English speakers by the very fluency of his words and the exuberance of his phrases. He is blessed with two excellent assets—an extraordinary memory and an almost nervous inclination to gesture. In this latter respect he *has the advantage of the normal Englishman*, and he shares

it with the Latin races of Europe. Many years ago in Seville they presented a turn at a variety show which was intended to exhibit characteristic types of the nations. The Spaniard was there with her castanets. The Italian danced to the music of sunny Italy, the French girl showed all the vivacity of that graceful nation. But when the Scotch lassie appeared in kilt and cap she stood stock still and never moved a muscle. The house roared with good-humoured merriment, but the lesson was true. We are not a gesture-loving nation, on the contrary, we go to the opposite extreme, and in our comic papers make fun of our more vivacious French neighbours for their to us excessive use of it. But if you consider you will find that this national stolidity often stands in the way of success in addressing an Oriental audience. To an Indian half the language of rhetoric is lost in a speech without gesture, as half the value of dance music is lost without the movement of the dancer. The Indian orator simply cannot keep his hands still, if he does, you may be sure that he is with great restraint and effort trying to copy the European, or rather the English model. The subject may be uninspiring. The lawyer in the courts arguing the most dry-as-dust case—it may be of adoption or of some commercial dispute—will instinctively put some life into the dead bones by the use of his fingers, now spreading his hands in the air, now striking the palm* of the left hand with two fingers of the right, but seldom or never using the more emphatic method of banging the table. Englishmen are apt to feel that gesture is a kind of pose, a theatrical method that savours of the artificial, and therefore of the insincere. That is, perhaps, at the root of our dislike of it. But when the Indian uses it you cannot but feel that he is obeying the laws of his own nature, it is the development of the chant to which he intones the Sanskrit classics, using the meantime some restrained movement of head and hand with which he punctuates the rhythm. That is the immemorial tradition in reading poetry aloud. And that is the national expression in the comparatively new form of the oratory of platform and court.

But what the Indian gains in gesture he loses in the management of the voice. Rhetoric, we may safely say, is a plant of European growth. The Greeks, as we all know, cultivated it as a branch of general education, and the Romans followed in the footsteps of the Greeks. With the *passion for organization* which distinguishes Europe to-day, and which has been largely influenced, if it has not been

promoted, by painstaking Germany, we now teach elocution as an art, and amongst our best speakers are those who have been specially trained for the theatrical stage. For the inflections of voice are to us as the marks of expression in music, it is thus that the spoken word has the advantage over the written. For the printed page is, after all, only the medium of communication between the author and his reader, it cannot convey just that shade of meaning which the author intends. Have we not all heard in church how an unemotional curate can read the impassioned poetry of Isaiah as though it were the financial column of *The Times*? Or, again, take the example of an eminent actor who spoke the two lines of Hamlet

“The times are out of joint, O cursed spite
That I was ever born to set it right”

with the accent on “born” instead of “I,” conveying the impression that Hamlet was cursing his birth rather than the fate which had chosen *him* as its instrument.

We must, then, remember that the Indian art of rhetoric is to some extent an imitation, and that the school in which the Indian orator learns is usually the Law Court. Now it is, of course, perfectly possible to become impassioned in a Law Court, the opportunities generally occur in criminal cases when a man is being tried for his life. All the gradations familiar to music can be brought into play. You begin on a mezzoforte, working up gradually on a crescendo to the fortissimo and suddenly sinking, perhaps with the contrast in sound so dear to Beethoven, to a pianissimo, to end, it may be, upon a level note of appeal. But everyone knows that impassioned oratory is lost upon the Judge, with him only close-reasoned argument is likely to prevail. The passion is reserved for the jury, who are not jurists, but merely human men. But in India murder cases are not tried by jury. The Judge is, or used to be, generally a European, temperamentally somewhat impatient of flowery phrases and by his calling bound to disregard persuasive words and to restrict himself (and, if possible, the advocate) to the hard logic of facts. Other cases there may be which are what we call sensational, but for dramatic opportunity none equals the case of murder with its momentous penalty.

Such, then, is the school in which so many Indians have learned to speak, and it is hardly surprising that too often the voice is kept at a dead level of monotony. But another school has now arisen in which it is the fashion to cultivate fine phrases and rounded periods. No greater contrast can be imagined to the impassive European Judge than

the emotional gatherings of the National Congress and the excitable audiences of young Asiatics, many of them hardly, perhaps, able to follow the eloquent periods, but all of them clamorous to hear what they expect to hear and what they would be disappointed not to get. Rhetoric becomes easy when you know beforehand that the audience is ready to applaud you to a man, that you have already the sympathy which the advocate of a less popular subject must strive to obtain. Hence we get the speeches—now only too familiar—regarding the imperfections of British rule and the highly coloured pictures of India in chains and groaning under the heel of the foreign invader. We are not here concerned with the psychology of the movement nor need we inquire whether the excitable young audience has or has not grounds for its enthusiasm. We are only concerned with the orator, his opportunity, and his handling of it. And there can be no two opinions that, given the environment, the Indian orator has quickly adapted himself to obtaining that which is after all the goal of oratory, success in rousing not the sympathy, for that was already his, but the whole-hearted enthusiasm of his hearers. Let us take a passage from one of Gandhi's speeches, quite at random. You can picture the man himself, a frail figure clad in the national costume, possibly of the white loin-cloth alone, the nervous fingers moving rhythmically with the speaker's emotion. His voice is low and level, so low that he can only be heard with difficulty. But the man is terribly in earnest. He has come to preach a gospel in which he fervently believes, and he knows that in the abstract, viewed from afar as an ideal, his hearers are ready to accept every word. But he knows, too, the idealistic temperament of his people. He is ready to carry out what he preaches. He will go to gaol, he will renounce the pleasures of life, he will adopt in deed and in truth that ascetic life which so many of his fellows in India have adopted mainly as a profession. But will *they*? Will the lawyers really decline their briefs? Will the schoolboys renounce the education which opens up to them the promise of a career? He knows, in short, that what he preaches is, to use the Western phrase, not practical politics. This is what he says

“You heard this morning of the bravery of the sword and the bravery of suffering. For me personally I have for ever rejected the bravery of the sword. But he who runs may see that before India possesses itself a sword which

will be more than a match for the forces of Europe, it will be generations India may resort to the destruction of life and property here and there, but such destructive cases serve no purpose. You have therefore presented to you a weapon called the bravery of suffering, otherwise called non-co-operation. It is a bravery which is open to the weakest among the weak. It is open to women and children. The power of suffering is the prerogative of nobody, and if only 300 millions of Indians could show the power of suffering in order to redress a grievous wrong done to the nation or to its religion, I make bold to say that India will never require to draw the sword. And unless we are able to show an adequate measure of sacrifice we shall lose this battle. No one need tell me that India has not got this power of suffering. If the title-holders of India consider that India is suffering from a grievous wrong, both as regards the Punjab and the Khilafat, is it any suffering on their part to renounce their titles to-day? What is the measure of the suffering awaiting the lawyers who are called upon to suspend practice when compared to the great benefit which is in store for the nation? And if the parents of India will summon up courage to sacrifice secular education, they will have given their children the real education of a lifetime. For they will have learnt the value of religion and national honour."

And so on. You will observe in this a note of uncertainty, as though the speaker felt that the idealism which he himself feels so strongly will not be put into action by his hearers. It is, in fact, typical of that Indian attitude which tends to pursue the ideal so enthusiastically without taking thought of the practical difficulties. At the same time, it is very generally conceded that Gandhi's personality is something exceptional and that he perhaps alone in India, perhaps even alone in the world, is prepared to carry his doctrines to their logical conclusion. That is what has given him the power, and, to some extent, at any rate, that is what gives his speeches that peculiar flavour, now of the dreamer of lofty dreams, now of the vulgar agitator to whom no epithets of abuse come amiss. We must not forget that in India as elsewhere temperaments differ as gifts differ. It would be as unfair to judge Indian oratory by the single example of Gandhi as it would be to judge English oratory by, let us say, Mr Lloyd George or Mr Jack Jones.

Of quite another type, then, is Lajpat Rai, a fellow worker in the same cause. There is a directness of speech

in his orations which appeals more forcibly to the matter-of-fact European mind than the visionary dreams of the other. He knows what he wants. He is deliberately aiming at the ideal of Swaraj in a concrete and definite form, and though he uses the same phrases about soul-force and purification and the rest, one cannot but feel that this is not the real man—that the orator is doing some violence to himself in order diplomatically to support the chief and his cause. Here is a chance passage which exhibits both qualities.

“The League of Nations, which is at present a humbug, has become established as a fact. It is a fact, and we are a member of that League of Nations. We want to be a member of the League with a vengeance. We want to be a living member of the League of Nations and not a sleeping partner. Ladies and Gentlemen” (the use of this form of address in the European order is to be remarked), “if we become a living member of the League of Nations we have to work up the world-opinion in our favour and to show the world that the calumnies that are being circulated against us of our unfitness, of our divisions, of our weakness of character, and all these things, that those calumnies are baseless and untrue. And how can we repudiate those calumnies unless by work in foreign countries in co-operation, those joyous world-spirits which in every country are trying to raise the world into a humanity from the hell that it is at the present moment. We must co-operate, we must mix our voice with them, we must put our soul-force with them side by side to enable them to push the world, from the world of unrighteousness into the world of righteousness and equality for every human being, be he of any continent or any colour, or of any castes or of any creed.”

You will observe that the humiliation of India has burnt deep into his soul. “Shall we or shall we not,” he cries, “take our legitimate part as one-fifth of the human race, as the descendants of the mighty Aryans, as the followers of Mohammedan leaders, shall we or shall we not take our part in the making of the new world?” He does not care very much, one may conjecture, whether the world is made new, what is vitally his concern is that if there is any new creation, India shall bear her dignified part in it, she is to be the creator and not the created. Is it unfair if we think we detect a spirit of insincerity in some of these utterances? Were the words merely words, was the speaker captivated

by fine phrases, or did they at the moment represent the true emotions of the man ? One had the same suspicion of the orations at the National Congress, they convinced nobody and were not meant to convince anybody, because the resolutions were a foregone conclusion, and care was taken that they should be unanimous. The speeches might have been taken as read, save for the opportunity of giving the orator a chance of eloquence. It is a healthy sign that the Congress nowadays disagrees on policy, for it shows that men are thinking for themselves instead of recording silent votes as directed by the leaders. But India is inclined to be fascinated by the catchwords of Europe, and the same unreasoning admiration of the Labour Movement is the theme of many modern speeches. We have the same abuse of Capitalism, the own brother to Militarism, as this school will have it. We have the same glorification of the workers all the world over, the same appeal to the brotherhood of man, the same incitement to class hatred. Is all this mere rhetorical flourish ? Since when has India, since when have these orators shown such deep concern in the sweating and the sweated coolie, sweated, if by the European, at least as much by those who now stand forth for political reasons as his self-appointed champions ? The argument is often confused, as happens when the heart of a man is thinking one thing and his mouth is speaking another. For one can see that Europe is the enemy to these orators. In spite of grandiloquent phrases about the toiling masses and the dignity of the proletariat, it is quite evident that the speakers' aim is national and not international.

That is the danger of Indian oratory. There is always the fear that the orator will be captured by the desire for fine phrases, the matter being left to take care of itself. It has been observed earlier that the Indian has an excellent memory, so excellent that he can repeat almost word for word a paper that he has written, so excellent that, as is well known, he is able to reproduce whole pages of a textbook at an examination. One may guess therefore that much, though by no means all, of the fluent oratory to which one is accustomed is written down beforehand at length and committed to memory. Macaulay once said that Fox wrote debates, Sir William Mackintosh spoke essays. The Indian is inclined to draw no line between the two, he delivers literary speeches and he writes rhetorical essays. The exuberance of his fancy, his very nature as an Oriental, betrays him into language more

florid than Gibbon's ever was. Take, for example, this passage from Professor Vasani's "Desert Voices"

"At once in songs and stories of love and in noble deeds of patriotism and heroism are our records and traditions rich—richer than most may know. Where else in the wide range of literature will you have songs more moving than those which sing of the loves of Sasui and Mamol? Where else will you find a story more thrilling than that of King Tamachi and his love for the fisher maid? Where a nobler example of hospitality than that shown to the fallen Humayun by Rana Wair Sail, who greeted the royal exile, kissed his stirrup, and vacated for him the castle? Where ?

* * * * *

"This then in brief is my vision of Sind, it is the vision I would fain have young men carry with them in the work before them. It is the vision I have worshipped in the silence of my heart and the beauty of my native land—in the myriad light of Sind's stars, in the colours of her rainbow and her rose, in the cups of her budding flowers, in her birds' mellow notes, in the ashes of the many hopes and fears of the Sindhi peasant. They call us 'Sons of the Desert'. But we come from a long lineage, sons of the winds and roses, and the rocks and the trees, sons of the classic soil of Sind, will they re-arise and offer their service for the help and healing of the Nation?"

It is a fine piece of word-painting, but is it anything more? There is a touch of Persian poetry in the allusions to the birds and the flowers, but if we may credit travellers' tales they hardly apply to Sind, and perhaps it is not impertinent to suspect that the rhetoric has run away with the author. Is there not also something of the rhetorical in the repetition of the questions, in the inversions in the sentences, and in the style of the whole?

The elected representatives do not talk in this fashion, and if we may believe accounts from India, the speeches in the new Assemblies are both dignified and restrained. They reach a high level of Parliamentary rhetoric, surprising to those who only know that rhetoric is a foreign plant and that Parliament is a foreign institution, but hardly surprising to those who know also the Indian and his astounding faculty for adapting himself to the unfamiliar. As yet there has been no speech which can be called great, but Mr B N Sarma's appeal for patience on the question of the Indians in Kenya was a model of restraint, of

generous appreciation of an opponent, and showed that balanced temperament which is able to see both sides of a question, to put the arguments in their proper perspective. That is not always to be found. We read of Mr A's "pitiless exposure" and Mr B's "relentless logic." Perhaps the European in us will agree with such criticism, but very probably the Indian will not, for there is in the racial composition a subtle and indefinable quality which insists on viewing the same question through different spectacles, and which incidentally has led to much mutual misunderstanding in the past.

But the most marked characteristic of Indian oratory is the total absence of lightness and all the more of humour. If you suggested such a thing to an Indian he would probably reply, "But what would you have? Am I to make a jest of what is to me the most serious thing in life? Am I to be flippant when the occasion obviously demands that I should be grave? Am I to seek for laughter when I should be moving to tears?" When Mr Bonar Law retired and Mr Baldwin was about to undertake the most responsible post in the Empire, we do not think it incongruous that the Leader of the Opposition jestingly threatened to make that position as uncomfortable as possible. That would have been outside the scope of an Indian speech. In the voluminous utterances of platform speakers you will find it difficult to discover one single passage punctuated with laughter of the mirthful type, though here and there a sardonic outburst may have greeted a piece of specially pointed satire. Yet there is no form of oratory in which the Indian excels more than in valedictory addresses or in panegyrics on the great dead. It is, perhaps, another species of phrase-making, but the self-assurance of the Indian and his extraordinary fluency too often put to shame the self-conscious Englishman, who, standing before his audience in hesitating confusion, punctuating his speech with inarticulate sounds, and dreading the ordeal of being compelled to weave words about nothing in particular, might be thought to be striving for expression in a foreign tongue.

It is perhaps this lack of humour and lightness, coupled with a tendency to exuberance of language, which, on the whole, distinguishes Indian from English oratory. But if you apply the inductive method, you will at once be faced by individual exceptions. Not every Indian can be labelled alike with the labels which this article has too presumptuously manufactured for him. The wonder is not that there is so much, but that there is so little to

criticize For on the whole the best Indian orators do satisfy the tests with which we began To the colder analytical nature of the European there may be something wanting in the logical texture, but as has been seen the speakers do realize that they must adapt themselves to their audience, and the perfervid style has its attractions for an emotional Asiatic gathering If the Indian has not yet produced an outstanding orator, he need not fear comparison with the best of a high class He has learned the lesson well, and with the added touches of the Oriental nature he is making the art his own

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

A BENGAL GOVERNOR'S HOLIDAY

The Governorship of an Indian province is no sinecure, and upon Lord Ronaldshay in Bengal there fell a very heavy load of responsibility It is widely known how well he acquitted himself His book, "*Lands of the Thunderbolt Sikkim, Chumbi, and Bhutan*,"* is a record of well-earned holidays spent with three congenial companions in the mountainous hinterland of his province

The round tour from Darjeeling via Phalut and Pemiongchi is within the reach of any visitor to Darjeeling who can spare the necessary ten days, the Chumbi Valley was the road followed by Younghusband's mission to Tibet, but few people have visited the corner of Bhutan which Lord Ronaldshay so graphically describes, and still fewer have penetrated to the mysterious Gochak La on Kanchenjunga

Lord Ronaldshay in previous works has proved himself a keen and accurate observer, possessing power to describe scenery in a way that brings the picture with its vivid colouring before the reader In the present work this power is used with great effect in describing the ancient Buddhist monasteries, with their quaint but impressive ceremonies, the wild gorges of the Himalayan torrents, and the majestic beauty of the eternal snows But Lord Ronaldshay does not confine himself to descriptions of scenery or of the manners and customs of the peoples with whom he came in contact He tries to get at the realities which lie behind the appearance of things He tries to look at things from the point of view of the people themselves, and in this attempt he shows an absence of prejudice and a fairness of judgment accompanied by a touch of humour which must have proved great assets to a Governor in India

The opening chapter gives a picture of "*The Coming of Summer in Bengal*"—a picture which will be appreciated by all who have spent in

* Constable, London

Calcutta those days when the Gold Mohur is in all its gorgeous beauty, but when "one labours grimly at one's desk, curbing one's irritation as one's papers scatter beneath the stirring of the close air caused by the electric fan" A description of the journey from Calcutta to Darjeeling follows and, as an introduction to travel in the Eastern Himalayas, an account of the march to Sandakphu There the narrative breaks off and the author gives, as a background to his description of the Buddhist peoples, a sympathetic account of the life of the Lord Buddha and of the doctrine of the Eightfold Path, the Thera Vada, the Way of the Elders The author takes up the narrative again and tells his experiences of the Lamaistic form of Buddhism followed in these Lands of the Dorjé, describing in detail the seldom visited monastery of Tashiding Then, to explain how Lamaism developed from the original doctrine, he describes a visit to the ruins of the ancient Rajagriha in the dusty plains of Bihar, and of the great University of Nalanda close by, the last stronghold of Buddhism in Bengal The seeds of decay had already begun to bear fruit before Padma-Sambhava about A.D. 747 went as a missionary to Tibet There the materialistic beliefs and practices of the people caused a further falling away from the true Eightfold Path The author takes up the narrative again, and gives an account of a visit to the Chumbi Valley—the little wedge of Tibet which divides Sikkim from Bhutan—and of its monasteries with their oracles and religious dances Then follow two chapters descriptive of the wonderful gorge down which rushes the western source of the Tista, and of a memorable climb, via Jongri and the Praigchu Valley, to the Gochak La in the heart of the mountain mass, which is crowned by the peaks of Kanchenjunga The descriptions of these stupendous mountain scenes are amongst the finest in the book In the remaining chapters there is a fascinating description of a journey through a corner of Bhutan, via the valley of the Pachu down which scrambles the track leading from Phari on the Tibetan plain, over the Tre-mo la to the capital of the Paro Penlope Bhutan has been visited by few Europeans, and the accounts given of the character of the people are contradictory The early travellers, Bogle and Turner, found them most hospitable, but the experiences of Pemberton, and especially of Eden, lead to a totally different conclusion Lord Ronaldshay's experiences tallied with those of the earlier travellers, for he found the Bhutanese a hospitable and friendly race The description of the rock monastery of Tak Thsang is of special interest Claude White in his book on Bhutan also gives an excellent photograph of this strange habitation The Lama informed Lord Ronaldshay that it had been visited by Europeans on but two previous occasions, the other visitor being doubtless Sir Charles Bell The book closes logically with an altogether delightful chapter entitled "The Outstanding Glory of Buddhism," an attempt to trace the influence which the teaching of Gautama the Buddha has exercised on the conduct of mankind "Enmity never comes to an end through enmity here below, it comes to an end by non-enmity, this has been the rule from all eternity"

The photographs with which the book is illustrated show that the author is no mean artist. Of those who have visited these spots few, if any, have

had the same opportunities he had of using the camera. It is to be hoped that the Geographical Society will give the public an opportunity of seeing more of the results of the labours of their President.

The publication of the further studies foreshadowed in the preface will be eagerly awaited by a large circle of readers.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN AND THE INDIAN REFORM IMPROVEMENT
By S K Ratchffe (*Allen and Unwin*) 6s net.

William Wedderburn was born to be a Haileybury civilian of the best type, but had no difficulty in pushing his way into the forefront of the new "Competition Wallahs," and soon showed that he was a fine example of the best sort of Indian civil servant. He was not only a loyal and devoted servant of the Government, but also an enthusiastic servant of the people of India and "protector of the poor," as all the best men are always proud to be. I never knew Sir William intimately until I went out in the same steamer with him in 1910. My only excuse for calling attention to Mr Ratchffe's excellent account of his life and work is the admiration for his character which I very soon felt on closer personal acquaintance. Sir William Wedderburn was not only a model civil servant, as is clear from the Government Order quoted on p 52 "His enthusiasm in the cause of education and his anxiety to promote all measures which would, in his opinion, conduce to the moral and material progress of the natives of this country, have, as his Excellency in council believes, won for Sir W Wedderburn the confidence and gratitude of those in whose cause he has laboured." He was a true gentleman, not only by birth, but also in his conduct through life, and consequently suffered a sort of martyrdom for years at the hands of men who could not understand his enthusiasm for justice towards the natives of the country. Curiously enough I lately discovered some correspondence I had had with him in the spring of 1917, just before the celebrated resolution in the House of Commons which gave rise to this new and somewhat rickety constitution. In the course of that correspondence, which he marked "private," because, he said, "we must be cautious so as not to derange the negotiations (proceeding favourably) between our Parliamentary friends and Mr Chamberlain, and also because for the national credit it is important that in this matter the initiative should come from the Government, and not appear as the result of outside pressure." This short quotation shows how careful Sir William always was to act on strictly constitutional lines. I did not see eye to eye with him in everything, but it would have been better for India if his friends on the Indian National Congress, and elsewhere, had followed his example more closely. He was always a moderating influence.

J B P

THE COINS OF INDIA By C J Brown, M A ("Heritage of India" Series) 2s net, pp 120

(Reviewed by MARY E R MARTIN)

This little book is primarily intended for Indian readers, but other students of Indian history will find it valuable as a foundation for the

further study of Indian coinage. There are in it twelve plates, illustrating coins, dating from the end of the fourth century B.C. down to the post-Mughal dynasties, etc., in the nineteenth century. It is interesting to learn that the break up of these dynasties caused a variety of mints to spring up in every part of the Dominions, no less than 994 gold and silver coins, old and new, passing as current in them. Under the East India Company, English factories were early engaged in reproducing the rupees of the Mughal Emperors, in 1713-19, and control of all the mints was gradually assumed by that Company as the various territories passed into their control.

It appears that the earliest coins in Europe and Western Asia bore certain inscriptions from which their origin could be traced, whereas the earliest coins found in India bear no such traces of their origin, which is therefore shrouded in mystery like so much of her early history. It is likewise interesting to learn that in India and Lydia, coins were probably struck by goldsmiths or communal guilds (*sens*) and that Indian coins were divided into two classes down to the fourteenth century. The coins of Northern India showed the influence of foreign invasions, whereas those of Southern India were developed on strictly Indian lines, and these coins do not appear to have attracted the attention of scholars as much as those of Northern India. The currency of Southern India, comprising the kingdoms of the Deccan and the remainder of the Peninsula where Tamil and cognate languages are spoken, shows a certain Roman influence, for Roman gold and silver coins were in circulation there about A.D. 200, but copper pieces, though bearing Roman devices and legends, were, the author thinks, of local production. This book contains a list of valuable works on Indian coinage, and also a list of the principal places in India where there are collections of Indian coins, such as Calcutta, Delhi, Lucknow, Madras, Dacca, and Peshawar. In London the British Museum supplies the needs of students, on the Continent, Paris and Berlin, and in the U.S.A. the American Numismatic Society has a collection in New York.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA By "Arthur Vincent"

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

The problem of the defence of India is probably familiar to most readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, but it is well to have it presented in a convenient and handy form, and the fact that the Editor of the series of which this little book is one volume is Dr. Rushbrooke Williams, the Director of the Central Bureau of Intelligence in Simla, gives it at least a semi-official authority. It should be specially valuable to the Indian politician whose attention has hitherto been concentrated upon domestic affairs. The Army is a thing apart in India. Except in the large centres where troops are quartered, one seldom sees or hears of it unless a regiment happens to be on the march. The Navy, or rather the East India Squadron, is even less in evidence, and as military disturbances are usually confined to the North West Frontier and military affairs have hitherto been

in the hands of the Central Government, there has been little to call the attention of Indian leaders to the all important subject of national defence. By taking them into its confidence the Government of India will have done something to correct the often ill informed and apparently unreasonable criticism of military expenditure and to convince the reluctant that you cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs.

There is little that is new in the volume. Perhaps the most controversial part is the apologia for a "forward" policy in the North-West, of which it is clear that the author is a staunch supporter. The opponents of it rest their case largely upon the ruinous expense of entangling troops in a difficult and unremunerative country. This book, we take it, does not pretend to say the last word on the subject, but the arguments against retiring to the line of the Indus would seem to be conclusive. It has frequently been demonstrated that a river is one of the worst of frontiers now that modern science has to a great extent overcome the obstacle. A river did not prevent the invasion of Serbia or of Roumania, and although the French ardently desire the line of the Rhine, that is because a river is at any rate better than an imaginary line.

Most people will turn with interest to the last chapter, in which the future is discussed. Both that and the one on the Frontier Army were clearly written to impress Indians with the task before them and with the necessity of a seemingly lavish expenditure on National Defence. The fact is that India must change her attitude to the Army, and must learn to regard the defence of the country as the first consideration before she can take her proper place in the world. She has looked to Japan as her model, and Japan has owed her rapid rise to her energy in so reorganizing her Army and Navy as to be a formidable opponent both in defence and offence. Much as we may deplore the need for armies and navies, the millennium is not yet. Russia and Afghanistan would make short work of "soul force." The example of China, the pacific nation *par excellence*, should teach India the salutary lesson that a nation must be strong to be respected in this imperfect world. That, or something like it, is the lesson this book would inculcate.

OMAR KHAYYAM Translated by J. E. Saklatvala (*Luzac and Co*)

(Reviewed by RHYS RAWORTH)

A recent translation is that of thirty-nine quatrains of the Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam by Mr. Jamshedji E. Saklatvala. In his preface the author somewhat disarms criticism when he asks for the indulgence of his readers owing to the fact that English is to him a foreign language. That this has been a real difficulty is obvious from the awkwardness in the construction of many of the sentences and the defects in metre and rhyme. But in spite of technical faults the work has a pleasing simplicity which, one feels, brings out the real meaning of the original more truly than many more ambitious works.

Any effort to express the genuine philosophy of the great Persian should

be welcomed, and there is a sincerity in Mr Saklatvala's work that shows he has throughout kept this object before him, even in his choice of a metre which he feels is the most suitable for his purpose. The tendency in this translation is mystical, and there are some expressive and haunting lines

It will be interesting to see what Mr Saklatvala makes of the remaining quatrains which he intends to translate

FRENCH BOOKS

LA MUSIQUE INDOUE LES RAGAS By Philippe Stern (Paris *Revue Musicale*)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

M Philippe Stern is an enthusiastic admirer of Hindu music. Indeed, it is a question whether he has not fallen into the usual trap set for those who undertake to defend an unpopular cause and does not go too far in his enthusiasm. That there is a highly developed science of Indian music which differs entirely from the European system is now generally recognized by all who have attempted to study it, and musicians would agree with his conclusion "Ainsi cette conception indoue des rāgas ne semble pas seulement digne de notre attention comme curiosité exotique, les musiciens, tout comme eux qui étudient le folk-lore, peuvent avoir, croyons nous, intérêt à la connaître"

Before coming to the principal subject of the article it is interesting to note that M Stern tries to explain not, as others do, why we do not like Indian music, but why Indians do not like ours. He thinks that the reasons are to be found (1) in the individuality of Indian music, (2) in the absence of harmony, and (3) in their attempts to analyze European music. The music of India, he says, is a music of the soul and of individual emotion. "The movements of a crowd" in music are foreign to Indian taste. M Stern seems to overlook the immense variety of the music of Europe. Is not Schumann's "Widmung" an appeal to the soul? Does not Schubert's "Unfinished" touch the individual emotions? One perhaps sees what is meant, though it is difficult to express it in words. He is happier in his second reason. The harmonic method is altogether too intricate for the ear, which is attuned only to melody, the tendency is always to be looking out for the melody, and when this becomes obscured by harmonic combinations, the listener loses all the thread of the story in the multitude of sound. It is hard to be sympathetic, one's ear is so accustomed to harmony that one cannot easily put oneself in the position of the seeker after melody alone.

M Stern has bravely attempted to wrestle with that elusive thing called the rāga, and he has wisely eschewed a definition. The rāga has been called a mode, the basis of a melody, a theme, an air, but M Stern rejects all these as inadequate. Mr Fox Strangways, if we remember right, attempts a definition in such cautious and complicated terms that he himself admits it to be unintelligible at that stage of his

book where it occurs M Stern calls the *râga* "l'approfondissement de l'idée de mode," but he seems to feel that this conveys very little without explanation. He therefore pulls the whole system to pieces, and proceeds to reconstruct in order to arrive by stages at the *râga*. One cannot say at the end of this analytical investigation that one gets any clear idea of what the *râga* really represents, though the scientific method is admirable. Perhaps the most illuminating remark in the essay is the comparison to a mediæval sculptor who is chained to certain conventional ideas, but develops them on his own lines, adds his own ornaments, and so evolves out of the same rules by the exercise of his own individuality a mediocre work or a masterpiece.

Scientific discussion may produce a Galatea, but it is a Galatea without life. M Stern may fitly retort that you cannot describe music in words. If you want to know why certain *râgas* are suited to certain parts of the day and to certain seasons and no others, you must listen to the *râga*, and that with the hearing ear. So much does this mean to the Indian that it is a positive violence to his artistic sense to use a given *râga* at the wrong time of day.

The pamphlet is scientific and difficult to follow for those not acquainted with French technical terms. It is, however, a serious attempt to discuss the most controversial subject in Oriental music, and, though it is mainly confined to this single point, it ought not to be ignored by serious students of the art.

HENRI CORDIER *MELANGES D'HISTOIRE ET DE GÉOGRAPHIE ORIENTALES*
TOME IV (Paris *Maisonneuve*)

(Reviewed by LIONEL GILES)

The seven papers published in this volume are mainly historical and biographical. M Cordier has always had a passion for rummaging in the odd corners of Far Eastern history, which has enabled him to bring to light many curious and forgotten episodes in the relations between China and the West. The present volume opens with five letters from Père Gerbillon, a Jesuit missionary of some distinction, who left Europe in 1685 and arrived in Peking three years later, after breaking the journey in Siam. Following the usual custom, he adopted a native name, which is incorrectly printed here. The worthy Father speaks of the difficulty of the Chinese language with justifiable awe, but he exaggerates in saying that it comprises seventy or eighty thousand "lettres," *i.e.*, characters. About half that number would be nearer the mark, and even a tenth is more than sufficient equipment for any scholar. It is flattering to our vanity to learn that, even at this early date, the most active traders in Far Eastern waters were the English, whose ships sailed "in almost every month of the year," while the Dutch sailed twice a year, and the French and Portuguese only once. A significant touch is the writer's satisfaction on hearing of "the destruction of heresy in France," which doubtless refers to the horrors committed in the name of religion after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The longest article in the book concerns the French Mission sent to

China during the Opium War in 1841, in order to report on the general state of affairs and possible openings for French trade. Hong Kong, it seems, was then already in a fair way to become a great shipping centre. A French naval captain gives this striking testimony: "The difference between the English colonial system, which is all freedom, and that of the Portuguese, which is full of restrictions, has already attracted a large Chinese population to the new colony." The head of the Mission, M. de Jancigny, exceeded his instructions so far as to enter into negotiations with the Chinese authorities at Canton, and prepared the draft of a Franco-Chinese treaty. After an unedifying quarrel with the newly arrived French consul, Jancigny received a sharp rap over the knuckles from the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, and his Mission came to a somewhat inglorious end.

Other papers of considerable interest are those devoted to Klaproth and Chavannes, two great scholars separated by nearly a century, and each perhaps the leading sinologue of his day. While full justice is done to the unremitting and unselfish labours of Chavannes, whose output in twenty-five years would have sufficed for the life's work of several ordinary men, Klaproth's character is severely handled by M. Cordier. There is an amusing story of his "discovery" of the Elliot Islands (lying between Port Arthur and the mouth of the Yalu), which, merely because he had happened to see them marked on a Chinese map, he claimed the right of naming after his early patron Count Potocki! "If a Chinese, living in some corner of the Celestial Empire, were to discover the Channel Islands and to bestow upon them the name of one of his friends, he would not make himself more ridiculous than did Klaproth." More serious is the charge brought against Klaproth of purloining two volumes of Prémare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, which had been sent home in manuscript as far back as 1728. M. Cordier thinks he has traced these volumes to the British Museum, which bought them from Klaproth's library after his death. The truth could easily be ascertained by a careful comparison with the three remaining volumes, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, from which the first printed edition was made. But meanwhile, the fact that the volumes in the British Museum contain nothing more (with the exception of one short article) than has already appeared in the published work, would seem to show that they did not form part of the original MS., and should certainly be allowed to count in Klaproth's favour.

ORIENTALIA

GOTAMA BUDDHA. By K. J. Saunders. "The Heritage of India" Series.
Pp. xiii. Illustrated (Murray). Price 2s. 6d.

(Reviewed by N. FORSYTHE.)

This amiable account of the life of the great Indian teacher is one of the latest additions to the "Heritage of India" series. It follows the lines of many recent lives of the Buddha, except in the details of Siddhar-

tha's boyhood, where the author departs from all accepted records and traditions by giving us a purely fanciful account of the Gotama's youth as having been spent in wandering from place to place, encountering varying scenes of warfare, torture, and unhappiness. Then he adds that this may have implanted in the youth a phobia which later led to a one-sided insistence upon the sorrow and pain of life. But here he makes the very customary mistake of forgetting that there were four noble truths, not one only, always insisted upon by Gotama. He taught the truth of suffering, that there can be no lasting happiness in individualized existence, the second truth, that suffering arises from craving, the third truth, that suffering ceases through the annihilation of craving, and the fourth truth of the Eightfold Path which leads to the destruction of craving and to freedom from the bonds of self.

In one of his notes to the *Dhamma-Kakka-Ppavattana-Sutta*, Rhys Davids says, "Pain results from existence as an individual. It is the struggle to maintain one's individuality which produces pain."

Mr Saunders appears to have given only a perfunctory study to the large mass of available literature on the life and teaching of the Buddha. When he writes of the renunciation of the household life, he states that India has for more than 2,500 years acclaimed this as an heroic sacrifice. On the contrary, such an action would be considered most natural, not only in those far-off days, but right through the long history of India and even to-day, when men are giving up everything for a much lower motive—the service of their national ideals. To seek for truth has, in that land, always been considered the highest good, and that a really great teacher should find it while living the household life seems at least highly improbable.

The Brotherhood instituted by Gotama was by no means a society of ascetics, taking perpetual vows of retirement from the world, but merely a screen or shelter which might be entered temporarily, and which served as a refuge from distraction until the truth was found.

Gotama himself, having found the light, returned to the villagers and spent the remainder of his life among his own people, staying in the houses of courtesans and finding nothing common or unclean.

The statement that he was never anxious to organize an anti brahmin campaign is quite in accordance with all the available evidence. Gotama was a reformer, who sought to return to the pure fountain head of the ancient Vedic teaching which had been smothered under that barnacle-like accretion of superstition that all high, austere wisdom inevitably attracts. When the author states that the greatest service which Gotama did for his native land was to show that nobility is not a matter of birth but of conduct, "a lesson which she has not yet assimilated," he is very wide of the mark and suffers from the habitual inability of the European to realize what a tremendously democratic thing is caste.

The barriers of intellectual caste are to-day intensely necessary for the preservation of the higher race of mankind. If you reduce everything to a common denominator the result is quite likely to be nothing. Lothrop Stoddart, in "The Revolt against Civilization," tells us with terrifying

force what is going to happen to the world if the under man, who has no place in any ordered intelligent scheme, gains the upper hand

That those who came to the Buddha for consolation in bereavement received cold comfort is a statement which could only come from one of those missionaries who always seem to fear death so much more than the poor heathen whom they propose to convert

As to Mr Saunders's description of Gotama as "pompous and devoid of humour," his definitions of Nirvana and Anatta, and his statements that

"No man ever lived so Godless and yet so Godlike—despairing of future bliss," and

"He who does not know God cannot really know or love man,"

we would remind him that the great Spinoza said that he could not describe God, not knowing his attributes, the Kena Upanishad that—

"He is unknown to those who say they know Him "

"He is known by those who say they know Him not,"

and the Buddha himself spoke thus to all who have ears to hear

"The worldling will not understand the doctrine, for to him there is happiness in self only, and the bliss that lies in a complete surrender to truth is unintelligible to him "

"He will call resignation what to the enlightened one is purest joy "

"He will see annihilation where the perfected one finds immortality "

"He will regard as death what the conqueror of self *knows* to be life everlasting "

(From "The Gospel of Buddha," translated by Paul Carus.)

INDIAN ART

KHSITTINDRA NATH MAZUMDAR By O C Gangoly (London
Probsthain and Co) 21s net

(Reviewed by J C FRENCH)

With the dawn of the present century there arose in Calcutta a school of art with which the names of Messrs Havell and Abanindra Nath Tagare and Gogarendra Nath Tagare will be always associated To the first named is due the foundation of the splendid collection of Indian paintings which now enriches the Museum in Calcutta, and also invaluable critical and historical works The two last-named are the pioneers in actual painting, followed by Messrs Nunda Lal Ghosh, Asit Kumar Haldar, and Khsittindra Nath Mazumdar, the subject of the present volume, and the author Mr O C Gangoly, and others

What is this school of art, and what particular claim can it make on our attention? This question can be answered briefly This new movement is an attempt to obtain from the various aspects of Indian art an inspiration and a technique with which to express ideas of modern art Comparisons with the pre-Raphaelite movement in England have been made, but the resemblance is only superficial In the first place, the Indian artist confines himself to his own country To him there is nothing

foreign or exotic in the models which he seeks. Rather they are as familiar to him as the ground he treads on and the air he breathes. Secondly, there is nothing archaistic or antiquarian in his quest. He is under no necessity to confine himself to the modes and styles of a remote century. This statement will appear surprising at first sight to the students of Indian art who can see on all sides the enormous influence of the wonderful paintings of Ajanta, the oldest paintings in Asia. But it will seem less so when the influence of the Rajput schools is noted, particularly of the beautiful Kangra Valley, which came to an end only with the great earthquake of 1905. A modern artist who studied Whistler or Renoir would hardly be accused of antiquarian tendencies. But the case of the Indian artist is even stronger than this, for the indigenous art of painting in India is not yet dead in Rajputana and in remote parts of the Himalayas. In Jaipur City the writer has seen pictures being prepared (the word "prepared" is used as it must be admitted that the process was forcing and not drawing), and in Jammu, the winter capital of Kashmir, the writer came across an undoubted case of an artist still working, and endeavoured, though without success, to see him.

The particular artist whom we now meet, Khaufindra Nath Mazumdar, is no unworthy representative of the school, the outlines of which we have sketched out. Art is essentially concrete, and it is impossible to speak long of an individual artist without referring to his works. Let us glance through the reproductions which Mr. Gangoly has so skilfully prepared for us.

The coloured frontispiece (Chaitanya and the Peacock) in its delicate subdued colouring and flowing sinuous line is a direct descendant of the age-long tradition of Indian painting, apparent in the caves of Ajanta and in sculpture of an earlier date, and descending through the centuries, now in stone, now in illuminated manuscript, till in the Rajput schools of painting of the sixteenth century and onwards it emerges in a form clear and unmistakable, which not even its bitterest enemy can deny. Plate II, Arjuna and Urvashi, is in a similar style. The design is simple and well conceived. Plate IV, Manasa Devi, is based upon the Nepal school, and is reminiscent of a metal image from Katmandhu. In Plate VI, Sakuntala, we are reminded of the Kangra artists, whose line is as clear and pure as their own native Himalayan snows. Plate VII, the Thunder Cloud, is in the same style, and is a veritable masterpiece. The flow of line and balanced design is admirable, and is sufficient to enforce conviction that here is no unworthy descendant of the older masters. The simplicity of treatment and execution, and the rigorous refraining from the mass of unnecessary and unmeaning detail which only serves to confuse and obscure, though characteristic in general of the school and the artist, are well exemplified in this work.

Plate XVI, Radha and Krishna, is a charming reminiscence of the Kangra school, while Plate XVII, the Rasa Lila, is deservedly one of the most famous and best known of this artist's works. The rich and subdued colouring, the unity of design, and the skilfully suggested sense of dancing movement combine to build up a nocturne of rare sweetness and beauty.

In *Shakuntala* (Plate XXII) we return to the ancient tradition of Ajanta, while *Krishna and the Gopis* (Plate XXIII) again follows the artist's favourite Kangra models

In thus referring each picture to its older prototypes, it must not be inferred that any charge of lack of originality or imitation is being levelled or insinuated against the artist. Every artist must have an æsthetic, just as he has a physical, ancestry. The writer recently saw a splendid album of reproductions of Cézanne in the Independent Gallery. The series started, not with a painting of Cézanne, but with a work of the Italian Renaissance, and thence through El Greco and the French masters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to Cézanne himself. Further, it must not be forgotten that to compare an Indian painting to an Ajanta work, or to some masterpiece of some Mogul or Rajput artist, is as natural as to refer a Chinese painting to a Tang or Sung source, or a European painting to the mediæval or Renaissance work to which it is attributable in inspiration or technique.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is to Indian models and sources that Indian artists must turn if Indian painting is to possess any real life or vitality. And if the vast field of Indian art, with its Asokan and mediæval sculptures, its Ajanta paintings, and high serene Mogul line and Rajput drawing, delicate, reticent, and tender, prove insufficient, it is to Persia and Tibet, to China and Japan, that the Indian artist should turn in search of fresh inspiration. For "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." What is good in the West is bad in the East, and the converse is equally true. Exotics are feeble and sickly. Even if differences of opinion may exist as to the actual merits of the artists of this new school, and the writer's appreciation be considered to err on the side of excess, surely there can be but one opinion as to the value of this attempt to derive a school of Indian art from Indian sources. Even if the present artists finally fail in their individual efforts, must it not be conceded that they are carrying on the age-long tradition of Indian art, and may be laying the foundation of some greater school in the future?

Gratitude is due to Mr Gangoly for making known this artist in the work under review. The writer would venture to suggest, however, that the next volume should be on a rather more ambitious scale. While the text could well remain of the same length, the size of the pages, and so of the illustrations, could with advantage be largely increased. M Werth's recent work on Bonnard is suggested as a model. The price would certainly have to be increased, but the public which demands works such as these is always ready to pay for them, provided the illustrations are sufficiently fine.

FAR EAST

SUBJECTS PORTRAYED IN JAPANESE COLOUR PRINTS By Basil Stewart
(Kegan Paul and Co)

The author explains in his preface that the above volume is not merely a reprint of his "Japanese Colour Prints and the Subjects they Illustrate,"

but has been thoroughly revised with the addition of a great deal to the existing matter and the inclusion of much entirely fresh information. He claims that for the time when the history of the Japanese people was a closed book there can be no better guide than an intelligent study of their colour prints. He has therefore been wise in writing a book which is eminently readable even for the novice.

It seems a great pity that whereas Japanese literature throws much light on the artists, it is silent on the subject of the engravers and also of the printers.

The book is in every way complete with valuable notes, and a comparative table of Japanese chronology.

THE WARES OF THE MING DYNASTY By R. L. Hobson (*Benn*) 84s

This volume, with 128 illustrations, eleven of which are in colour, is well in keeping with the other publications of Messrs. Benn Brothers, both as regards excellence of printing and illustrations apart from its attraction for the lover of beautiful volumes, and its necessity for the expert. "The Wares of the Ming Dynasty" has also a wider appeal, extending to all who are interested in porcelain. "Ming" had become too much of a general label for the ware which could not be exactly placed. But, in the words of the author, "Ming is not a home for stray pots, in which every mongrel piece, which has no fixed attribution, can find a refuge." Mr. Hobson's work is therefore an indispensable book of general reference.

GENERAL

SCIENTISTS AND SENSITIVES

BY F R SCATCHERD*

MADAME BISSON has rendered a signal service to science by the publication of the report by four Professors of the Sorbonne as to the results of their experiments with Eva C, together with documents of capital importance. Madame Bisson, sure of the fact, was anxious to obtain official confirmation as to the reality of "la Substance," the "ectoplasm" of Professor Richet, Baron von Schrenk-Notzing, Dr Geley, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

Madame Bisson does not criticize, she only attempts to elucidate a report regarded in certain quarters as a proof of the non-existence of the basic fact of all objective metapsychical phenomena.

These phenomena do not belong to the order of "scientific experimentation," since they cannot be produced at will. They belong to the domain of simple experimentation, rendered most difficult and delicate through the necessity for the presence of a sensitive. Should anything occur to upset the sensitive the phenomena do not take place.

"Respect for these especial conditions of experimentation," writes Madame Bisson, was evidently "a great demand to make upon professors accustomed to the study of the exact sciences," and they certainly failed lamentably to come up to any standard worthy of the traditions of the Sorbonne, for out of the four men signing the report, only M Piéron was present at all thirteen sittings. M Dumas was sometimes absent, M Laugier did not appear until after the fifth séance, therefore was not present at the third, which was positive, while *M Lapique came for a quarter of an hour only during the first séance*! Moreover, little attention was given to conditions absolutely essential for success—conditions which might have led to better results.

* "Le Médiumnisme et la Sorbonne," by Juliette Alexandre-Bisson, price 6d. Paris. Librairie Félix Alcan.

The second part consists of a lucid commentary on the report, with its text in full. The third deals with the nature of materializations, and is followed by a résumé and documents indispensable for forming a true judgment of this now famous document.

"Make no mistake, we can never say with certitude that a fact is unlikely or impossible because it appears to us contrary to the laws of nature. Such an argument is altogether illogical. The progress of science is finally nothing, but the constant modification of the laws of nature as formulated by an antecedent epoch with reference to the following epoch.

As regards the psychical sciences, we have been able to assure ourselves that the greater number of those who have only recorded insuccess or accidents owe this fact to their defect of method, their inexperience, and their incompetence."

These remarks of the eminent jurist Dr J. Maxwell (1906) are quoted by Madame Bisson as justly applicable to the recent experiments of the Sorbonne. The eminent academician M. Marcel Prevost regards these Sorbonne experiences as insignificant compared with the increasing number of fine minds (*bons esprits*) who are devoting themselves to the study of metaphysical science.

This little volume is an indispensable contribution to the vexed question of materializations, for Dr Louis Beauprez gives the *coup de grâce* to the sole refuge of its opponent's "regurgitation" as an explanation of the phenomena produced by Eva C. M. Fernand Divoire. He tells us that never has there been so much talk about the Sorbonne as since it has given its official benediction to the study of materializations, and since Socrates said "impure souls" hate and avoid the invisible, he, wishing to rank with pure souls, neither hates nor fears "ectoplasm," and this would be the case with him even were it only to rule out the assertion that any phenomenon is "impossible." The word impossible has no place in human language.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F R SCATCHERD

I—THE NEAR EAST AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"If they had not the League of Nations intervened in the Greco-Turkish War and the Ruhr?"

Such were the questions that everywhere greeted Lord Robert Cecil in his recent visit to the States, where he spoke to large and sympathetic audiences in New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Chicago, and five other cities, including Boston, no mean record for a four weeks' tour. Everywhere the keenest interest was manifested, for Lord Robert explained that he was there by the wish of his American friends, not for purposes of propaganda, but to ascertain America's objections to the League, and to unfold its true significance, so far as it was in his power to do so.

As an instance of the large-minded toleration evoked by Lord Robert's evident sincerity, it would be difficult to surpass that of Mr Frank Munsey, of New York, the proprietor of several publications hostile to the League. Mr Munsey organized a gathering, where the leading newspaper-owners and editors of the American Press were assembled to learn what the League of Nations meant to one of its most able and devoted adherents.

The questions which head this note, give colour and confirmation to Lord Robert's conviction expressed at the luncheon, given in his honour, on his return to London, at the Hotel Cecil, May 15, by the Hospitality Committee of the League of Nations Union.

After referring to the "splendid hospitality" he had experienced in Canada and the United States, Lord Robert recorded his belief that it was doubt as to the reality of Europe's desire for peace that was the main obstacle to the entry of America into the League.

"Americans realized, probably more than we on this side, that a successful League of Nations must depend ultimately upon the power of an organized public opinion, and a standpoint in international thought, quite different from the old idea."

"If we would hasten America's entry into the League, we must make the League 'the great fundamental item of our foreign policy'."*

Future historians may look back to Lord Robert's American tour as the most vital world event of the spring of 1923.

The *Round Table* (March, 1923) puts the case for the League in words that should be known to every citizen of the British Commonwealth, words that the friends of the warring peoples of the Near East, who must obtain

* *Headway*, June, 1923. The League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S W.

peace or perish, would do well to ponder, for despite our sins of commission and worse sins of omission, it is to the Anglo-Saxon race on both sides of the Atlantic that the world still looks for help and deliverance. The *Round Table* writes

"To the British Empire, which has everything to lose by the outbreak of a new war, the promotion of an institution framed to smooth away the more serious international difficulties before they endanger peace is a political interest of the first order. Our Empire has nothing to fear from the publicity of the League. It can submit the administration of its mandated territories to the inspection of the Mandates Commission without misgiving and in full confidence that the principles upon which it proceeds will commend themselves to the civilized conscience of the world.

"The insurance premium is low. Spread over the fifty-one States it amounts to about one-seventh of the cost of a first-class battleship. For this dim sum the world has now an instrument which, if loyally and intelligently employed—and the strain on the loyalty of its members will increase as the business referred to the League becomes more important—will produce in the shape, either of quarrels averted or composed, or armaments reduced, or of diseases arrested, or of derelict States restored to financial equilibrium, or of Labour aspirations guided along wise and practical channels, a rich and enduring harvest of well-being."

At the time of writing, representatives of the League of Nations are in Athens, gathering facts to place before the Finance Committee of the League with regard to the question of a loan of £10,000,000 to Greece to enable her to cope with the settlement of the million or so refugees now in urgent need of the vital necessities of life.

Albania has been one of the first countries to profit by the decision of the Council of the League to deal with appeals made by States for technical assistance. Mr. Hunger, a Dutch colonial administrator, has now been appointed Financial Advisor to Albania, and with his help Albania proposes to develop the resources of the country by floating a loan, founding a bank, building roads, and carrying out other measures necessary to ensure the prosperity of its people.

From Lausanne comes the statement that Turkey is anxious to be admitted to membership of the League of Nations, the most encouraging news as yet received from that quarter.

II INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN GREECE

Recent visitors from Athens tell us that Constitutional Government has been abolished in Greece by the military dictatorship. The Ministerial Council is only a Committee of that military dictatorship, having little initiative and no will of its own. The dictatorship is well-intentioned, but lacks guidance, and is supposed to be inspired by Mr. Venizelos, who has few friends in Athens. However much he may be admired by the Greeks living outside of Greece, he is held to be virtually responsible for all the ills that have befallen Greece in recent years! No expression of opinion is allowed, and the nation is eagerly looking forward to a General Election in order to voice its opinion, not only of Mr. Venizelos, but of his oppo-

nents also For the one sure thing is that the people of Greece are sick to death of the politicians whom they consider to have been gambling for so many years at their expense

The great mass of the nation is suffering acutely from the economic consequences of the depreciation of the currency and the uncontrolled profiteering Those who compose the so-called Government do not seem to take the slightest notice of the awful conditions in which the people are living There are a few favourable exceptions, but the majority are persons who can do nothing, while hundreds of thousands are starving because their salaries, or pensions, or wages are cruelly insufficient to enable them to live Speculation, owing to the fluctuations of the Exchange and the artificial raising or lowering of the value of the English sovereign, causes small fortunes to vanish in a few hours to the gain of experienced speculators

All parties are alike deemed responsible for the present precarious position, but it must be said that the Great Powers are held to have interfered too much, particularly with regard to the war, and have interfered not always wisely It was a great mistake to favour one of the parties and ostentatiously to condemn the other, and Mr Venizelos is bitterly reproached for failing to see the tremendousness of the task of "a mandate" in Asia Minor As to his support of the Entente, despite his goodwill, it is contended that his rivals have hardly benefited Germany more than he has done, as matters stand now

Low as the Constantinists have fallen in the estimation of the nation, since they have shown their inability to promote the well-being of the people, the Venizelists, and their chief more particularly, have touched even greater depths of disfavour and discredit This is borne out by the fact that the military dictatorship, which goes by the name of "the Revolution of 1922," is not at all popular because it is suspected of being inspired by the Venizelists At first, when it proclaimed its programme as being "Above Parties," it was greeted with some approval Its leaders are only naive soldiers, priding themselves upon having done a daring thing in sending away King Constantine and putting to death the ex-Ministers They have never really had the sanction of the nation, and might be excused had they been inspired by ideals But they are credited with no ideal except that of creating a strong army in Thrace This they have achieved, and it is a weapon which Turkey seems to fear But are we now to be threatened with a repetition of the world war in consequence of a Greco-Turkish conflict? The people of Greece hate the idea of war, and hold that any outbreak would be the work of the politicians and European capitalists Surely the League of Nations should be able to find a formula by which the problem of Greco-Turkish reparations could be solved *

So despondent are the people of Greece on account of their own privations and absence of political freedom, and so disgusted are they with the self-interested influences dominating them, that some of the more im-

* This was received before the conclusion of the arrangement conceding Karagatch to the Turks, by which a collision was averted

patient, up to a certain point, are actually looking towards Russia as a possible liberator

One thing alone is certain It is a matter of European concern for the elections to take place as soon as possible, and this is a case in which the Allies would be wise in urging the military dictatorship to hold the elections as soon as possible and to guarantee absolute freedom in carrying them out

To all this well-intentioned advice it may be replied that the Revolutionary Government is only *waiting for the signing of peace* to transform itself into a Constitutional Government, as stated many times over by those most vitally concerned * Meanwhile the maintenance of an efficient army under arms and the providing of support for hundreds of thousands of helpless and destitute refugees are burdens well nigh overwhelming, and bigger and better equipped nations than Greece might be pardoned for the temporary neglect of all but these two staggering eventualities

III DR PLATON DRAKOULES ON THE BALKANS

Dr Platon Drakoules, the founder of the Greek Labour Movement, passed through Paris on his way back to England last week, and was pressed by the representatives of French papers to express his views In refusing their request he stated that the only salvation for the Balkans as a whole was to return to the plan of the Balkan League on the principle of non-intervention of the Great Powers If this idea, which had been started in the early part of this century, and found its first application in the Balkan War, had been persisted in, all the Balkan countries, including Turkey, would have been spared much misery and suffering Owing, however, to the present violence of national jealousies, it was too much to hope for its early revival But he reiterated that along those lines lay the only hope of Balkan salvation

* See *Asiatic Review* for April, 1923

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT

BY M BAUDAINS

THE École Française d'Extrême Orient was founded in 1898 by decree of M Paul Doumer, Governor of Indo-China

Early in the history of the French occupation several archæological missions had been sent out, and as their labours brought to light many interesting documents, the French Government recognized the necessity of creating a centre from which systematic and continuous research could be carried on. The École then bore the name of "Mission Archéologique d'Indochine," changed later, as the importance of its work developed, into that of "École Française d'Extrême Orient" (1900)

At the time of its creation, the capital of Indo-China being Saigon, the library and museum were naturally founded there, when, in 1901, the seat of government was moved to Hanoi, the École followed, leaving behind only the collections of sculptures, owing to difficulties of transport

The École Française d'Extrême Orient is not a teaching centre, but an Institute for research, historical, archæological, and of philology, comprising the art and culture of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and other Far-Eastern lands India, China, Japan, and Insulinde. It consists of a "Directeur" nominated by decree, and members, temporary and permanent, appointed by the Gouverneur-Général of Indo-China on the recommendation of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. The tem-

porary members are generally graduates of the École des Langues Orientales, of the École des Hautes-Études, or of the École des Beaux-Arts (Architecture) who have chosen a scientific career, as orientalists or archæologists. But the admission to the school is unconditional, and nationality even is no drawback, the only point taken into account being the qualifications of the applicant and his potential services to the École and science. Their number is limited to three, and they are appointed for the period of one year, but their residence may be prolonged indefinitely on the proposal of the Directeurs acting on the advice of the Académie.

The "membres permanents" (originally called "professors"), are nominated in the same way as the "membres temporaires," but the duration of their residence is unlimited. The laws which govern the civil servants of the colony are applied to them in the matter of vacations, travelling allowance, retirement, etc. They are generally membres temporaires whose scientific qualifications have been proved during several years' sojourn at the École.

The studies are divided into the following different branches, each having at its head a permanent member. China and Annamite countries, India and countries where Indian culture predominates, Japan, Indo-Chinese archæology. This last branch is known as "Service Archéologique," and has an organization of its own, its head is an important permanent member, who has under his orders several permanent members, one of whom is Conservateur du Troupe d'Angkor, and others inspectors of historical monuments.

The École has also "membres correspondants" chosen by the Gouverneur-Général de l'Indochine from those whose collaboration has been helpful through research or gifts. The duration of this appointment is three years, but it may be renewed.

The Asiatic staff is composed of secretaries, scholars, and draughtsmen, most of whom are Indo-Chinese.

The library comprises 15,000 volumes written in Euro-

pean languages, 12,000 volumes in Chinese. This section is perhaps the finest collection in the world, being the books acquired in China by members (Paul Pelliot, Edouard Huber, Henri Maspéro, Leonard Aurousseau, etc.) The Annamite library contains 2,780 volumes and many texts copied from the originals in the Imperial Library at Hue. Some very rare works were also copied, several of which were considered as lost.

The Japanese section (6,400 volumes) is mostly composed of books acquired in Japan by Cl. E. Maître and Noël Péri.

In the library are also found many maps of the country and plans of ancient citadels, 1,259 manuscripts, and numerous reproductions (11,000).

The archives of the Viceroy of Tonkin (an appointment that ceased in 1897) were entrusted to the École.

A duplicate collection of Laotian manuscripts was presented by the École Française to the "Société Asiatique."

A museum of Khmer art was organized at P'nhom-Peuh and another of charm antiquities at Tourane. Accordingly these arts are only represented at Hanoi by a few choice specimens, mostly bronzes and other precious works, but the museum has rich collections from Annam-Tonkin, Siam, Burma, India, Tibet, China, Japan, and Korea. The museum also contains a fine numismatic collection, and in the prehistoric section many interesting specimens of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages are to be found.

The "Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient" publishes the works of members as well as the accounts of their discoveries. The value of this publication can be judged from its contributors: Father Cadière, P. Pelliot, Henri Maspéro, R. Deloustal, G. Coëdès, L. Finot, Ed. Huber, Alfred Foucher, Sylvain Lévi, Ed. Chavannes, Bouillard, Vaudescal, C. E. Maître, and Noël Péri.

The works which, on account of their importance, are not suitable for a periodical, are published by the École under the title "Publications de l'École Française

In 1920, under the auspices of the École Française, appeared the review *Ars Asiatica*, edited by Victor Goloubeff. This review quickly became the leading French publication dealing with Oriental art.

One of the most important duties of the École is the study and preservation of the historical monuments of Indo-China. There, as in most countries, vandalism having become rampant, many beautiful monuments were destroyed. In 1900 a decree gave the École full powers to deal with the depredations. Thus 312 "monuments classés" were placed in the care and under the protection of the École. A new list of these is being drawn up and will include several Tonkin buildings, as well as others situated in the provinces retroceded by Siam in 1907.

Many temples have been repaired and classified in Tonkin and Annam, but the greatest effort of the École has been the restoration of the group of temples at Angkor returned to France by the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1907. This work was undertaken by the Government of Indo-China, but placed under the direction of the École d'Extrême Orient.

The plans of exploration were drawn up by the Service Archéologique and carried out by Jean Courmaille. During nine years, his artistic taste, his zeal, and his experience, were employed to bring to light magnificent edifices buried under rubbish and covered by tropical vegetation, first Angkor Vat, then Bayou and Baphnor. After his dramatic death (he was murdered in 1916), the work was continued by Henri Marechal and, later, by Charles Batteur, who unearthed the temples of Ta Prohm, Takéo and Banteai Kdei, and also reconstructed the Chaussée des Géants, leading to the Porte de la Victoire. The most interesting discoveries were made in Champa and Cambodia. Although Khmer art was already known by several works and by the collections of the Musée Guimet, Paris, the Champa was so little studied that scholars carried this ancient kingdom from the coast

of Annam to the south of Cambodia. Its art, but little known to-day, was ignored until the studies of the *École Française* brought it to the notice of orientalists. We owe this knowledge to Parmentier, who unearthed Laksmindra and Lokecvava at Dong-durong, the temples of M₁-sou and the ruins of Chan-Lo. We may consider his "*Inventaire descriptif des Monuments Chams de l'Annam*" as the best monograph of this curious branch of Indian art which grafted itself on that of Indo-China.

Although much has been done there is still much to do, and excavation must for many years take a foremost place in the plans of the *École Française de Extrême Orient*.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

THE East India Association held a very successful conversazione on June 25 at the Caxton Hall. The following among others were present: Lord Lamington (President), Lord and Lady Pentland, Sir M. M. Bhowaggee, Sir Herbert and Lady Holmwood, Sir Wilham and Lady Ovens Clark, Sir Montague Webb, Sir John Cumming, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarzadas, Mr. B. S. Kamat, Sir Patrick Fagan, Lady Bisset, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Miss Scatcherd, Sir Francis Oldfield, Sir Frank Beaman, Mr. and Mrs. Shrimpton Giles, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Coldstream, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. C. Jinarajadasa, Lady Kensington, Sir Duncan Macpherson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. L. Weston Edwards, and Mr. Stanley Rice (Hon. Secretary).

Lady Katharine Frances Stuart, only daughter of the late Earl of Castlestewart, died on Friday, May 4, suddenly, from a paralytic stroke.

Lady Katharine was born in Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency on November 13, 1878. From early girlhood she devoted herself to caring for the poor and suffering, and she trained for work amongst them with the Nursing Sisters of St. John the Divine at Lewisham, but the work there and at Poplar proved too much for her strength, and after two attacks of blood poisoning it had to be given up. Her attention was then given to helping, by her pen and public speaking, the various good causes she had at heart, as a means of promoting peace and goodwill among the nations, for hers was "a heart that took the whole world in." During the war she shared her father's secretarial work for some of the war charities, but her many labours for others, the loss of her two brothers in action, and the blindness of her father, were blows that told severely on a frame never robust, and two and a half years ago she became an invalid, and a paralytic seizure terminated her life on earth on May 4.

The funeral, which was strictly private, took place on Wednesday, the place of interment being the family vault in Ballyclog Churchyard. The chief mourners were the Earl of Castlestewart and Major Close, D. L., Drum Manor. Rev. C. S. Stewart, M. A., officiated.

The "Georgian Society" and the "Georgia Committee" of London held a Memorial Service in memory of fifteen officers of the National Army of Georgia who distinguished themselves on all Russian Fronts during the Great War. Brigadier General Prince C. Abkhazi, Grand Marshal of the Georgian Nobility, Generals A. Andronikashvili, V. Tsulukidze, R. Muskhelishvili, Colonels G. Khimchashvili, D. Chrdileli, E. Guisashvili, A. Macharvaniani, and others, who were shot, without trial, in the cellars of a Tcheka prison in Tiflis by order of the Bolshevik invaders of

Georgia on May 23, 1923 The service was held at the Greek Church of St Sophia, Moscow Road, Bayswater, W 2, on Friday, June 15

"THROUGH ROMANTIC INDIA"

Mr Lowell Thomas disarms criticism at the outset by telling his audience that his pictures do not pretend to be exhaustive, and that there are probably some in the audience who know more about his subject than he does He has, however, managed to present a fairly comprehensive picture of India, starting from Cape Comorin and taking us to Madura, Pondicherry, and Madras, with an excursion to the West Coast We visit Bombay, Agra, Delhi, and some of the State capitals, and are whirled off to Baluchistan and across the Khyber into Afghanistan The interval leaves us in Kashmir, resting in the garden of Shahmar We then come down to Puri to the great festival of Jagannath, and are finally given a glimpse of Calcutta in the shape of the Howrah Bridge

Mr Thomas accompanies the pictures with running comments amounting to a lecture, and he is to be congratulated upon the amount of knowledge which he has managed to acquire He makes mistakes of detail when he describes the Moplahs as a Hill folk He ought not to leave the impression that the "untouchables," about whom good folk make so much fuss, are kept at given distances all over India, and it would be more courteous and sympathetic if his references to the Hindu religion were cast on the lines which he himself would like to use about Christianity. To touch lightly—not to say flippantly—upon so intimate a subject as their religion is to wound a very sensitive people in their tenderest part

The film, too, loses in educative value by confining itself to the lower strata of Indian society We are indeed shown the Princes, chiefly as accompaniments to the Prince of Wales, a fact which serves to emphasize the dependence rather than the independence of the Native States We are shown Gandhi and Tagore in fleeting pictures which leave little impression of the intellectual life of India It is doubtless galling to a people who are striving for political recognition that they should be represented by anachronisms on spikes, by gangs of professional robbers, and by heterogeneous crowds at festivals Still, it is only fair to remember that Mr Thomas is showing us not *all* India, but romantic, or picturesque India, there is nothing to suggest that he contemplated anything educative The pictures themselves are beyond praise, and those of the Taj, the gardens of Kashmir, the Himalayas from Darjiling, and the wild country of the Khyber are very beautiful Mr Thomas shows a great and appreciative admiration for the country, and he is loud in his praises of the British administration It is the business of a critic to criticize, if we could wish certain details altered, that ought not to outweigh our admiration for a very wonderful exhibition

S P R

THE CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON

BY D B JAYATILAKA, M.A

[The writer of this article is a member of the Executive Committee of the Ceylon National Congress, and is now one of its delegates in London]

THE Constitution of Ceylon is again in the melting-pot. In February last the Secretary of State for the Colonies issued a Parliamentary Paper* containing certain proposals for its revision. This step marks a welcome departure from the practice hitherto followed by the Colonial Office in regard to Constitutional reform in Ceylon. For the first time it has invited the people most concerned to express their views on the proposed reforms before their final adoption. The opportunity thus granted has been fully utilized. In Ceylon the Government proposals have been discussed and criticized in the Legislative Council, in the Press, and in various political associations, including the National Congress, while here in London the Ceylon Reform Deputation have issued a memorandum dealing very fully with the proposed scheme. This volume of criticism, as well as the Governor's report on the debate in the Legislative Council, is now before the Secretary of State, who, it is expected, will shortly—perhaps after the discussion of the whole question in the House of Commons on the Colonial Office vote—finally settle the form of the new Constitution. I welcome, therefore, the opportunity afforded me at this juncture of reviewing in these pages the present offer of the Government.

In order to appreciate the criticism to which the proposed scheme has been subjected, some knowledge of our history is indispensable. It is, however, unnecessary for our present purpose to go beyond the British period, although

* "Correspondence relating to the Further Revision of the Constitution of Ceylon" Cmd. 1809

the earlier history of the island is by no means devoid of facts of constitutional value. It was in 1796 that the British first appeared on the scene. In that year they ousted the Dutch from their possessions in the Coast districts which they had wrested from the Portuguese in 1656. The rest of the country, however, still remained under the rule of the King of Kandy. The last occupant of the Sinhalese throne was, like his three predecessors, of Tamil origin, the Sinhalese royal line, which had held sway over the island for over twenty centuries, having become extinct about the middle of the eighteenth century. He was deposed in 1815, and by a solemn treaty, the Convention of Kandy, the whole kingdom was transferred to the King of Great Britain. In the first period of the *British occupation the government of the country* was purely bureaucratic, although, so early as 1809, the Chief Justice of the day, Sir Alexander Johnston, after a careful enquiry into the prevailing conditions in Ceylon, recommended the establishment of a Council with elected representatives. No change in the form of Government was, however, effected until 1833, when, upon the recommendation of a Royal Commission, which considered Ceylon best fitted in the East for the introduction of Western institutions, a Legislative Council and an Executive Council were constituted. These bodies were composed of officials with the exception of a few non-official members of the Legislative Council who were nominated by the Governor. Notwithstanding the progress which the country made in all other directions, this Constitution remained intact for more than fifty years, in fact, until 1892, when a few more unofficial seats in the Legislative Council were created. But this small increase of unofficial members scarcely affected the character of the Government, the Council continued to be purely advisory with an official majority, and, as regards its unofficial element, nomination remained as before the sole method of selection. This "reform" did, indeed, in one respect positive harm, it strengthened and extended racial

representation, which has proved to be the greatest obstacle to the political progress of the country. Two decades passed before the Constitution was again amended. The Morley-Minto reforms had already been introduced in India, and the insistent demand of Ceylon for a forward movement could not be altogether ignored. In fact, on this occasion the Colonial Office seemed inclined to take a liberal and sympathetic view of the question. But the efforts of the local Government prevented the development of that tendency, and the reform that was granted (in 1912) made no substantial change in the Constitution. In one direction, however, a small advance was then made, an elective element was added to the existing system of communal representation. Moreover, in the creation of electorates, except the Europeans and the Burghers, who had separate registers of their own, the remaining sections of the population—the Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Moors, the Malays, etc.—were formed into one constituency. In view of recent developments it is an important fact to bear in mind that a decade ago these different sections were considered homogeneous enough to be placed on a common electoral roll for the purpose of choosing one member to represent them all in the Legislative Council.

Apart from this concession the reforms of 1912 were wholly disappointing. So the agitation for a truly liberal measure of reform was continued with greater vigour than ever, until it culminated in 1918 in the birth of the Ceylon National Congress, which became, as it is to-day, the most powerful political body in the island. In its first session the Congress formulated its demands for Constitutional reform in a series of resolutions. These resolutions, reaffirmed in subsequent years (with certain modifications), form the platform of the Reform party in Ceylon. That part of them which bears on the Constitution may therefore be well quoted here.

1 "That the Legislative Council should consist of about fifty members, of whom a substantial majority

should be selected according to territorial divisions upon a wide male franchise and a restricted female franchise, and the Council should elect its own Speaker

2 "That the Legislative Council should continue to have full control over the Budget, and there should be no division of reserved and transferred subjects

3 "That the Executive Council should consist of the Governor as President assisted by official and unofficial members of whom not less than half should be unofficials chosen from the members of the Legislative Council elected according to territorial divisions, such members to be responsible for the administration of departments placed in their charge "

These demands were submitted to the Colonial Office both by memorials and by two deputations that waited on the Secretary of State (Viscount Milner) in 1919 and 1920 respectively In September, 1920, the Government by an Order in Council promulgated its scheme of reform Some of its provisions, both main and incidental, were so unsatisfactory that the National Congress at a special session unanimously adopted a resolution rejecting the reforms, and called upon the country not to return members to the new Council The matter was reaching an *impasse* when the Government, realizing that public opinion was behind the Congress, came to terms with it and a compromise was effected At a subsequent session the Congress passed the following resolution

"In view of the assurance of the Government contained in the memorandum of December 6, 1920, signed by the Hon. Mr H C Gollan, Attorney-General, and submitted this day to the Congress by the President, this Congress recommends participation in the elections under Order in Council, unsatisfactory as it is, in order to utilize the opportunity now assured to the Congress of shaping the new Constitution and of working for the early realization of the full Congress demands on reforms."

At the same session another resolution was passed

recommending the country to return as members of the new Legislative Council only those candidates who pledged themselves to support the Congress policy in regard to reforms, and to exert themselves to secure the amendment of the Constitution in specified particulars. All the territorial members (save one, who, too, was not opposed to the Congress programme) took this pledge substantially in the terms of this resolution. The reformed Council came into being in June, 1921. Its career for the past two years bears testimony to the ability, moderation, and independent spirit with which the elected representatives of the people have discharged their duties. It has also proved that in actual practice the unofficial majority which the Government spokesmen* claimed to be a distinctive feature of the reform introduced in 1920 is more illusory than real.

To return now to the compromise arrived at in December, 1920. In pursuance of that agreement Mr James Peiris, the member for the City of Colombo, and ex-President of the Congress, proposed in the Legislative Council in December, 1921, a series of resolutions for the amendment of the Constitution. In the course of the debate that followed it became quite clear that the Government had in the meanwhile hardened its heart against any substantial change in the Constitution created in 1920. The present proposals are the outcome of that changed attitude, so strangely at variance with the spirit, if not the letter, of the understanding with the Congress. However that may be, there can really be no meaning in undertaking to re-amend the Constitution so soon after its last revision, unless it be for the purpose of eliminating or modifying those features of it to which public opinion was at the time of its introduction strongly opposed. Now no part of the reform scheme of 1920 provoked so much criticism in Ceylon as well as in the House of Commons† as its provisions for extending racial representation. It is, therefore,

* See the statement of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lieutenant Colonel Amery) on July 29, 1920.

† See the Proceedings in the House of Commons on August 11, 1920.

not a little surprising to find that representation on a racial basis has become the corner-stone of the proposed edifice of reform. In fact, the main object of the present scheme seems to be the establishment of communalism on a firmer basis than before and "for an indefinite period of time." This proposal certainly reverses the policy initiated in 1912, when the elective principle was first introduced into the Constitution. Under that reform, as has already been pointed out, the Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Moors, the Malays, etc.—in fact, all sections of the population except the Europeans and the Burghers—were formed into one electorate. That system lasted for nine years, till 1921, and two elections were held under it. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that this grouping together of these diverse racial elements in one electorate was detrimental to the interests of any one of them. That being so, the present proposal to hark back to communalism as the basis of representation is wantonly reactionary.

Now let us for a moment examine the reasons that have been put forward in order to justify this reversion to communalism pure and simple. The Governor, Sir William Manning, merely quotes some census figures* which show that the Sinhalese form the majority in their own country, and that the main sections of the population—the Sinhalese, the Tamils, and in one case the Moors—respectively occupy certain areas in larger numbers than others. These are by no means startling facts, disclosing a situation peculiar to Ceylon, and calling for exceptional treatment. These official despatches seek to make the most out of the obvious fact that the population of Ceylon is composed of several racial elements, but they are silent on the most important aspect of this problem of a mixed population—namely, the relations existing between these different communities. The vital question is this: Are the people of Ceylon still in the stage of tribalism, divided into hostile groups, holding no commerce with one another, and bound by no ties of common

* See the Parliamentary Paper referred to (Cmd 1809), p. 5

interests ? Not even the most enthusiastic supporter of the proposed scheme would venture to answer this question in the affirmative. On the contrary, he would be forced to admit that, although in Ceylon, as in many another land, racial and religious differences do exist, they have not raised impassable barriers between the different communities, and that, as a matter of fact, a real community of interests, ever growing stronger, binds all sections of the people. Many instances may be given of this growing spirit of common citizenship which has enabled the people of Ceylon to rise superior to racial and religious differences in public matters. So far back as 1912, when for the first time the people were given the right to elect a representative, a Tamil candidate (Sir P. Ramanathan) was returned with a large majority over his Sinhalese rival (Sir H. M. Fernando), although the Sinhalese naturally commanded a larger number of votes than all the other sections. In 1917 the same member was re-elected after a contest, his opponent on this occasion also being a Sinhalese. Again in 1921, although the majority of the voters were Buddhists, yet of the nine members returned for the predominantly Sinhalese districts one only was a Buddhist, and—this is a still more remarkable fact—one electorate, almost entirely Buddhist, elected a Christian minister by a very large majority in preference to a Buddhist candidate. Similarly the elections for the Municipal Councils and the recently formed Urban Councils prove that racial and religious prejudices do not affect the choice of representatives for these popular institutions. In towns where Sinhalese and Tamils form the majority Burghers and Muhammadans have been elected as members, while Burghers have been chosen as chairmen of Urban Councils composed mainly of Sinhalese and Tamil members. It is hardly necessary to add that in matters affecting the social and moral welfare of the country there is the heartiest co-operation of all, irrespective of race or religion. All these indisputable facts point to a growing solidarity among the people and a

strong movement towards national unity. The official despatches ignore these features of our public life, and in this respect they do less than justice to Ceylon. Further, the Government proposals, instead of promoting that growth of national unity so essential to political progress, are calculated to have an exactly opposite tendency. If adopted in their present form, they will result in "the creation of political camps organized against each other," and "teach men to think as partisans and not as citizens."

Having so far discussed the principle, we proceed now to consider Sir William Manning's scheme of representation on its own merits. In one part of his despatch he assures us that he is anxious to avoid over-representation and under-representation. Let us see how he puts this excellent idea into practice. His scheme thus distributes the seats on a communal basis

	Population	No of Seats
Europeans	8,300	3
Burghers	29,100	2
Muhammacans	265,300	3
Indians { Indian Tamils	606,700*	2
{ Muhammadans	33,100	
Ceylon Tamils	514,300	8
Sinhalese	3,016,400	14

These figures need no comment. A mere glance at the list is sufficient to show that this allotment of seats has proceeded on no principle. One inevitable result of this apportionment, however, calls for special notice. It will be seen that the minority sections (excluding the immigrant labour population) total about a million. No less than 18 seats are allotted to this one million minority, while the three million (Sinhalese) majority† are assigned just 14 seats. In other words, these proposals, if adopted in their present

* Mainly a floating population of immigrant labourers, a small percentage of whom will be entitled to the franchise.

† Mr H J Temple, in a letter to *The Times* (June 7), urges that the Kandyan Sinhalese should not be included in the majority population. As I pointed out in my reply (in *The Times* of June 18), the scheme itself treats the Kandyan and Low Country Sinhalese as forming the majority population.

form, will establish minority rule in Ceylon. The lack of principle to which I have adverted above becomes still more glaring when the representation of territorial divisions is considered. Twenty-one seats (made up of the 14 Sinhalese and 7 Tamil seats given above) are thus distributed territorially

	Population	No of Seats
Colombo Town	244,000	1
Western Province (exclusive of Colombo)	1,002,800	3
Central Province	717,900	2
Northern Province	374,831	5
Southern Province	671,300	2
Eastern Province	211,830	2
North-Western Province	491,800	2
Northern Central Province	96,500	1
Province of Uva	233,800	1
Province of Sabaragomuva	471,800	2

Again comment is superfluous, the scheme carries its own condemnation. No amount of argument can possibly justify the allotment of 4 seats to the Western Province, including Colombo, the Metropolis, having a population of over one and a quarter million, while 5 seats are bestowed on the Northern Province, far inferior to it in point of population and general advancement.

The interests of minorities are, of course, urged in defence of this scheme of representation, so arbitrary and unfair, whether you consider it from the communal or from the territorial point of view. It is a novel doctrine that in any country the minorities are entitled to any right other than that of adequate representation. From the first table given above it is clear that in Ceylon the minorities have been given adequate, and in some instances more than adequate, representation. Moreover, entirely on the initiative of the advocates of reform, the minorities are now to be included in the general electorate, so that the members of the minority sections, if otherwise qualified, will be entitled to a double vote—one in their communal electorate and the other in a territorial constituency. Further, the Constitution provides ample safeguards against class legislation injurious to the interests of any section of the community. In view of these

facts the plea cannot be genuine that the interests of the minorities necessitate unjust discrimination against the majority population

Space forbids reference to other features of the proposed scheme which are open to criticism. In fairness, however, I must not omit to say that it contains several good points—such as the abolition of the residential qualification and the provision for the election of a Vice-President. But these are of minor importance, and cannot in themselves produce good results, so long as the whole scheme is based upon the reactionary principle of communal representation. I have said enough, I deem, to convince any impartial person that the present proposals require considerable modification before they can be considered just and satisfactory. If the proposed revision of the Constitution is really intended to be a further step in the direction of self-government, then advance must needs be along the line of territorial representation extended so as to include the whole population and give fair and adequate representation to each territorial division, while the special representation of the minority sections is retained as a temporary expedient.

CHINESE TROUBLES

BY DIGBY C H D'AVIGDOR

"THE average foreigner outside Peking—and, indeed, the average-thinking Chinese—sees China as in a hopeless mess, both politically and financially "

In these words the President of the Chinese Republic summed up the state of affairs in his unhappy country only a short time ago to a representative in Peking of Reuter's Agency. It is true that at the same time he expressed his conviction that the wealth of productive effort which China possesses in her industrious and teeming population would surely prove her economic salvation in the long run. The point is, however, how long, not only China herself, but also those Powers who have invested large sums there in commercial undertakings, the success of which depends upon stabilized conditions, will be content to wait for the desired alleviation of the present conditions.

For several years past the conviction has been steadily growing on the part of those well acquainted with Chinese affairs, that the time is rapidly approaching when some definite steps will become absolutely necessary on the part of the Powers, if China is to be saved from herself. It has become more and more obvious that the central government at Peking is impotent to control the intrigue and independent action of the Tuchuns (or military governors), under whose maladministration the provinces are undoubtedly suffering severely. Not only do these militarist despots defy the Peking Government, but they use the power they hold in virtue of their hordes of soldiery to

impose super-taxes upon the unfortunate provincials which are sequestered for the purpose of financing their own internecine struggles, for which purposes the ordinary taxes, supposed to be collected for the central government, are also appropriated. The treasury at Peking at one time became depleted to an extent which was not only a serious embarrassment at home, but has been stated to have reacted abroad, inasmuch as the emoluments of the Chinese representatives in Europe were no longer forthcoming. Politically, crisis has followed crisis, so that the general public has eventually wearied of the dismal tale and interest in the fate of China has been replaced by apathetic indifference. Chinese affairs are still perforce a matter of concern to the chanceries of Europe, and more than one plan, such as the Consortium, has been evolved in these quarters during recent years in order to bring help to the distracted country. It is more than likely, however, that the general indifference, except on the part of diplomatists and those financially interested in China's well-being, might have become a settled habit, had not the whole world suffered a rude awakening by the startling announcement in the first week in May of a daring raid upon the Pukow express and the seizure by a large force of bandits of European passengers.

Now the point at which this outrage occurred is, in itself, not without significance. Near the station of Lin-cheng, on the branch portion of the Peking-Shanghai railway known as the Tientsin-Pukow line, the boundaries of no less than five provinces are adjacent. The capture of desperadoes would therefore obviously be a matter of considerable difficulty, unless there were complete co-ordination on the part of the various provincial authorities, and this is entirely lacking. A further obstacle to the prompt apprehension of bandits in China is the question of identification. The soldier who is to-day in the Tuchun's service, dissatisfied on account of being obliged to exist for many months without pay, becomes a bandit the next day,

and a peaceful villager the day after. The fact that such peaceful villagers have arms in their possession has no significance as proof of unlawful avocation, because weapons are part of the normal villager's equipment for defence, either against the bands of marauders infesting most provinces of China, or against the attacks of other villagers engaging in periodical forays for booty. Granted, then, the desire or the competence of the Tsuchun to effect the arrest of a gang of bandits, it is obvious that he can place little reliance upon the services of troops whose ranks have only recently included the bandits themselves. Failure, if not fraternization, is a foregone conclusion. To attempt to identify the quondam bandit with the peaceful villager is almost equally ineffectual, and evokes a passive resistance on the part of the countryside, which objects to the abuse of its immemorial right to vary the monotony of existence.

The fact is that brigandage, as practised in China, is an institution which it will be extremely difficult to abolish. The adventurous spirit of generations of Chinese has been kept alive partly by a natural distaste for a prolonged struggle with a poverty from which few in the provinces are exempt, and partly by a study, widespread and attentive, of a gem of classical fiction. Some five hundred years ago was produced a work known to students of the East as the "Sui-Hsu-tien," the authorship of which, though ascribed to various individuals, has never been definitely established. This work contains a vivid description of the exploits of 108 brigand chiefs, the most famous of whom was the redoubtable *Song*. Written in a style so pure that its charm captivates as surely to-day as it did when first penned, the "Sui-Hsu-tien" has undoubtedly inspired many to emulate the exploits of these wholly imaginary heroes. Opportunity for the practical application of brigandage is not lacking even to this day, as the latest exploit at Lincheng had demonstrated only too clearly.

For several reasons the Lincheng raid has a claim to our earnest consideration. Perhaps one of its most serious aspects is that it marks the disappearance of that immunity from outrage enjoyed, except on isolated occasions, by Europeans since the days of the Boxer Rebellion. The large scale of the operation itself, as at least three thousand bandits appear to have taken part in the raid, is also noteworthy, and a particularly disquieting element is the fact that a large body of Chinese troops who were stationed near the scene of the outrage were powerless to prevent its accomplishment, and failed to intervene immediately afterwards. Without taking advantage of the strategic possibilities of scattering over the conveniently situated frontiers into different provinces, the bandits withdrew in good order in a body, dragging their unfortunate captives over miles of rough ground for many hours. Eventually the marauders appear to have split up their forces into smaller units, as it was reported that they were apprehensive of pursuit. The fact is clear, however, that they soon realized the complete impotence of the Chinese authorities to do anything effective, and in a few days the brigands, and not the authorities, were stating terms on which the captives would be given up.

In fairness to the Peking Government it must be admitted that they took steps which might have been effective if they had been practicable. The military and civil governors of the Shantung provinces were telegraphically instructed to take energetic measures for the release of the prisoners by dispatching troops to surround the brigands. The latter did not fail to make it known that such measures might lead to the death of their captives, and intimated that a substantial sum of money as ransom might be a preferable expedient. Meanwhile the Diplomatic Corps at Peking was urging the Chinese Government to refrain from any action likely to imperil the lives of their respective nationals in the brigands' hands, and in the same breath demanding pains and penalties for the aggressors. For weeks the

negotiations between the brigands and the Government dragged on, and it was not until June 12 that a message was received that all the foreigners taken prisoner had been released. The terms on which this result had been obtained are an object-lesson on the conditions in China, which we should do well to note carefully. The whole of this lawless and disreputable crowd of reprobates were enrolled to the number of three thousand in the regular Chinese army, so that official sanction has in effect been given to the genial metamorphoses which, as explained in the preceding pages of this article, have become the chief contributory factor in the growth of brigandage in China.

In the general relief at the release of the foreign prisoners, little attention has been paid to the fate of the several hundred Chinese passengers on the train who were captured at the same time. There is no doubt that a large number of these unfortunate people lost their lives and that the rest suffered untold privations, that much being clear from a few messages received. The lack of comment on this aspect of the affair proves rather tragically that public indifference to China's fate is in danger of recrudescence. This would be a matter for regret, as never was it more necessary that public opinion should be ready to back up any steps which the Powers may feel it necessary to take in order to put an end to a situation which is going from bad to worse. It will be impossible for foreign assistance to be brought to China's relief, and China herself has emphasized often enough her desire for assistance, unless there is a suspension of the anti-foreign movement which has been in evidence of late. Within the last two months the list is a serious one. A Canadian was assaulted on a train at Tsinan-fu, the European officers and passengers on a steamer proceeding from Hong-kong to Shanghai were made prisoners by Chinese pirates disguised as passengers, who then looted the ship, at Chang-sha an unarmed body of Japanese bluejackets was stoned by the mob, and, more recently still, bandits have surrounded and

menaced missionary establishments. Generally speaking, the lives of foreigners in China, and this within a comparatively short distance of the coast, are in constant peril.

In the interview already alluded to, the President of the Chinese Republic declared that he perceived in his country signs of a growing detestation of militarism. It would be a great relief if these signs were as obvious to others, but meanwhile we can only hope that the President's optimism may be justified in the near future.

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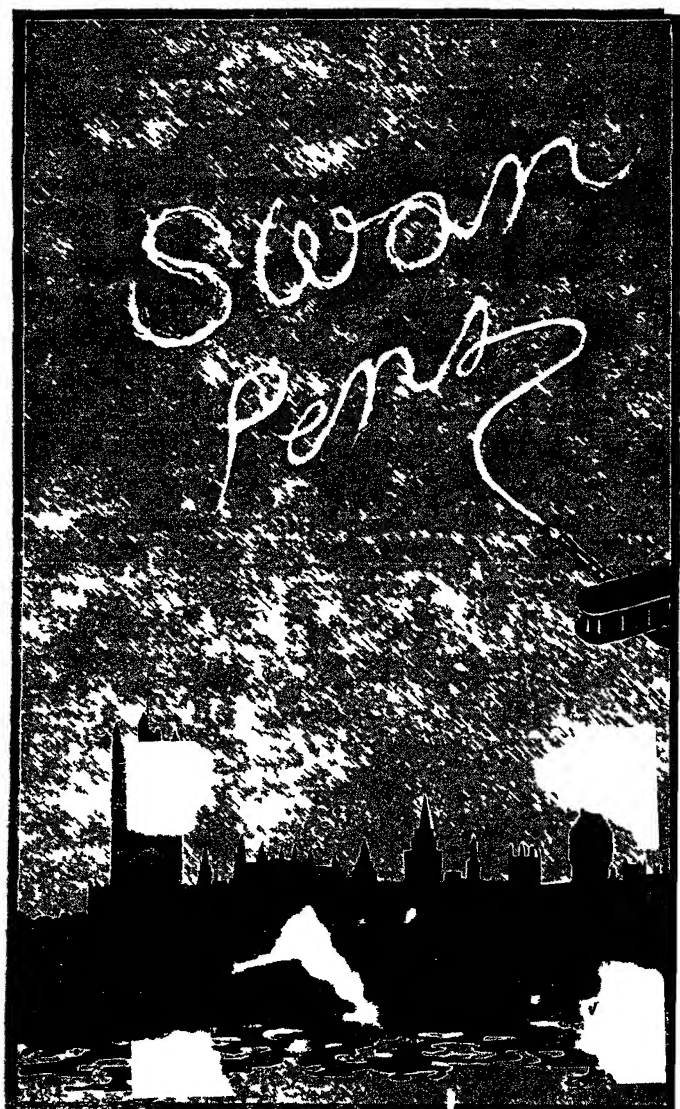
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